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184 177 introduction of firearms to the natives by unscrupulous Whites, whereby the Small Islanders, who were the first to acquire these weapons, succeeded in exterminating almost the whole of the once numerous population inhabiting the villages on the adjacent Malekulan coast.[1] This tragedy, now bitterly regretted by the Small Islanders themselves, has prevented any further enquiry as to how these two villages themselves acquired the rites. I do not know the actual date of this extermination. It cannot, however, have occurred very long ago, and in the generations preceding it a mass of ritual practices emanating from these two villages had already been acquired by Wala, whence a great deal has since been acquired in turn by Atchin but only a certain amount by Vao, and that only by the villages on one side of this island. This is one of the reasons why, as stated in the Preface, I have chosen Vao as the subject for this first volume in order to establish the historical sequence of cultures on these islands. Where this megalithic culture came from it is not the business of this work to discuss, and, except as regards a few outstanding features, the historical aspect of the problem is not mentioned.

Genealogical records and their connexion with stone monuments.

173 554 769 796 One relevant fact must nevertheless be mentioned because of its effect on the natives' own outlook. This is the sense of historical continuity possessed by the natives of the Small Islands, in which they differ notably from any other known tribes in this part of Melanesia, and which is expressed and fostered by their extensive orally transmitted genealogical records. I have already called attention to the fact that the cycle of rites comprising one performance of the Maki lasts approximately a generation, and to the stone monuments erected during each such performance. These monuments are never removed, and remain as a perpetual memorial of those who set them up. Each such performance is moreover distinguished from all others by some outstanding feature by means of which those taking part in it hope to eclipse in magnificence all previous performances, either by the acquirement of some new form of ritual or in the grandeur of the stones erected or, most impressive of all, by the number of boars sacrificed and by their value in terms of the elongation of their tusks. It is as a rule in accordance with this latter form of emulation that each Maki performance is named, these names, such as "The Circle-Tusker" or "The Five Hundred," referring to the quality or number of boars sacrificed, being treasured by the natives of each village as part of the historical heritage enhancing their own prestige. Not only is each Maki remembered, however, but also the leading men who organised it and carried it through, by means of the monoliths erected and at which some of the chief tuskers are sacrificed. Details of these sacrifices are also remembered, since, with

[1] See p. 602.

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the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

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CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN OF THE SIX VILLAGES AND FOUNDATION OF THE FOUR QUARTERS OF PETE-HUL

TALES OF ORIGIN

173 REGARDING the origin of the individual villages and of their populations there are many conflicting accounts, due to infiltrations on the one hand from the mainland of Malekula and on the other from the matrilineal islands to the north-east, chief among which are Oba and Raga. While most villages preserve oral genealogical records, the importance of the soil on which they live is so great that these in no case extend beyond the first ancestors who settled on Vao. Stories of origin nevertheless exist, but, since different families in one village sometimes trace their ancestry from different sources, the general picture is a kaleidoscopic one accompanied by a considerable mixture of physical types.[1]

Pete-hul–Togh-vanu.

The double-village which possesses the richest and most reliable historical tradition is that of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of the Island. On Atchin, where I obtained genealogical records of the entire island, history opens with the foundation of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, also on the Superior Side of the Island, some seventeen generations ago.[2] On Vao history does not go back so far, but opens with the foundation of Pete-hul by four brothers representing the four Quarters about nine generations ago,[3] and of the subsequent secession of part of the population to form its offshoot village Togh-vanu. Where the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this double-village came from is uncertain. They themselves claim, as already seen, that the foundation of Pete-hul was due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, which is responsible for the fact that this village alone of all the Vao villages possesses a "perfect" internal organisation.

Various accounts are given regarding the foundation of the remaining villages.

[1] See p. 81. [2] See p. 170. [3] See p. 84.

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Peter-ihi–Venu.

According to one version, the village of Peter-ihi was founded from Raga, as stated in the following tale:

There lived on Raga two brothers, Na-tò, the elder, and Viriümb, and the name of their landing-beach was La-tan-wolwol. And each one built a canoe. Na-tò made his from wood of the *bread-fruit tree* (*pegv*), and Viriümb made his from the wood of the tree called *nev*. Having made the sails, they set out, each in his own canoe, for Ambrim. Na-tò, the elder, started first. Viriümb waited till his elder brother was well out to sea, and then, launching his own canoe, swiftly overtook and passed him, so that he landed first on the coast of Ambrim, where he triumphantly awaited the arrival of the belated Na-tò.

The two then remained on Ambrim, visiting their friends, and bargaining for pigs. But Na-tò (the elder) was unsuccessful and came back empty-handed, while Viriümb (the younger) had acquired a re-entrant-tusker (*bo-ware*).[1] On the return journey Na-tò again started first. Viriümb again waited till his elder brother was out of sight, then overtook him and landed first on their beach in Raga. But his mother came down to the shore and pushed his canoe back into the sea, saying, "Why do you always land first? Your brother is the elder; you should let him be the first to come ashore." So Viriümb remained floating close to the beach, till at last his elder brother came up. And Na-tò asked him, "Why have you not gone ashore?" Then Viriümb wept, and said, "Our mother pushed out my canoe and told me I must let you land first."

So Na-tò went ashore, but Viriümb remained afloat. And Na-tò called to him, "What's the matter? Why don't you come ashore?" "Oh, nothing," he replied. "I'm only waiting here for a bit." For he was angry with his mother for having pushed out his canoe.

And Na-tò went home. And while Viriümb, the younger brother, was still floating off the shore, a great wind, *rualo*, blew from the north-east, and he turned his sail and ran before the wind till he came to Vao, and landed at a beach that is now called La-ha-na-ruhute, after Ruhute, the name of his canoe. And he founded the village of Peter-ihi, and his descendants bred from the tusked boar he brought with him, that he had acquired on Ambrim. And that is why there are so many tusked boars on Vao and Malekula generally, and few on Raga, whither the Malekulans now go selling tuskers.

According to another account, the double-village of Peter-ihi–Venu is said to have been colonised from Oba. Oba and North Raga are both within the matrilineal dual organisation area.

On the other hand, Venu is said by some to have been founded from

[1] A boar of which the artificially elongated tusk has curled round and re-entered the jaw (see p. 243).

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the Malekulan village of Tontore. Godefroy agrees with this, spelling the name Tountor and stating that it is situated somewhere among the mountains.[1] The same informants said that Peter-ihi originated from the Malekulan village of Buaror. According to yet another account, however, it is said that it was only the weather magic practised at Peter-ihi that came from Buaror.[2] Godefroy supports the mainland origin of Peter-ihi when he says that its inhabitants "seem in fact to have come from the mainland of Malekula, of which they are proud to bear the name."[3]

Singon–Norohure.

The double-village of Singon–Norohure is also said, according to one account, to have been founded from Raga. Godefroy, however, makes the interesting statement that the inhabitants of Norohure "were always on Vao, but do not know the story of the *memel* fruit," and that, with regard to the inhabitants of Singon, "no one knows where they came from."[4]

The story of the *memel* fruit referred to is the story of the foundation of Pete-hul by Ta-ghar recounted below.[5] The fact that neither Norohure, nor, apparently, Singon, are acquainted with this tale of origin shows, like the place-names, a distinct difference in cultural level between this easternmost double-village and those in the centre and west. Since the inhabitants of Norohure are said always to have been on Vao, and the foundation of Pete-hul and the introduction of its story of origin occurred only nine generations ago, this evidence points to the conclusion that, of the two Sides of the Island, we should expect the eastern Side to show traces of social organisation older than that of the west. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that both double-villages on the eastern Side are said to be connected with the culturally older matrilineal areas of Oba and (presumably North) Raga.

Tale of the Quarrel between Lavame and Handillagh

Yet another tale, dealing with the now extinct communities of Lavame and Handillagh, shows the close connexion existing between the older stratum on Vao and the matrilineal island of Oba.

These two communities are said formerly to have lived close to one another on Vao, and the tale sets out to explain the reason why they quarrelled and finally broke up. The story relates that while some Lavame men were engaged on an expedition to Oba, the wife of one of them was unfaithful, and had connexion with a man from Handillagh.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 48.
[2] See p. 634.
[3] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 53. He states further (p. 48) that, like Pete-hul, this village was founded by the direct action of Ta-ghar.
[4] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 48.
[5] See p. 82.

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But the couple were surprised by a Lavame man who had stayed at home. Now this man was a *Ghamba Lep*,[1] one of those who through membership of a well-known secret society can turn themselves into birds, and he resolved to make use of this power to warn the husband on his return from Oba. So, as the returning canoe rounded the sandy promontory of La-singo,[2] he transformed himself into two banded rails (*pilagh*), a male and a female, and he made the male rail chase the female along the shore till she yielded and they copulated.

Now the husband saw this from his canoe, and, recognising that it must be the work of a *Ghamba Lep*, determined to find out what had happened. So he went home, and beat his wife till she confessed her transgression, saying that she had lain with the Handillagh man. So the men of Lavame fought those of Handillagh till the decimated survivors of the latter took refuge in the village of Singon, and those who remained of Lavame left Vao and established themselves in a new village of the same name on the mainland. This village has now died out, the only survivors being one man and his two sons, who, having returned to Vao, are now living at Togh-vanu.

Physical Types

The result of this dual origin of the population still shows itself in a variation in physical type remarkable in so small an island. Thus Speiser comments that "it is possible today to distinguish clearly on Vao two types, the Melanesian type from Malekula, dark-skinned, thick-set and frizzly-haired, and the type from Oba, lighter-skinned, more slender and often with almost curly hair."[3] Owing to intermarriage, however, this variation in type is no longer correlated with any existing topographical divisions, but occurs sporadically throughout the whole population, which now forms a single cultural unit closely knit together through ties of kinship.

ORIGINS OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Turning once more to the evidence regarding the origin and nature of the existing social organisation, four sets of facts present themselves:

(*a*) The mythological data concerning the creation of the inhabitants of Pete-hul through the direct agency of Ta-ghar.
(*b*) Accounts of the subsequent formation of its offshoot village Togh-vanu.
(*c*) The genealogies.
(*d*) The kinship system.

I propose first to examine the mythological data and the genealogies.

[1] See p. 238. [2] Possibly Singon. [3] Speiser, 3, pp. 59-60.

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The Genealogies

In both accounts, the myth now merges directly into the genealogy of the human founders of Pete-hul.

Before using the evidence afforded by this, it is first necessary to say a few words regarding the reliability of the genealogical records kept orally by the natives. I have already called attention to the close connexion existing in all the Small Islands between these genealogies and the stone monuments erected during the course of the Maki rites, by means of which men, or groups of men, commemorate themselves, and in or near which their spirits are believed in some measure to survive. It is by means of these genealogies, and by the stones which act as a perpetual reminder of the lives and exploits of those who erect them, that historical tradition dealing with such ancestors as actually lived on the island is kept alive.

As to the accuracy of the genealogies, I can speak best from my experience on Atchin. There I collected the genealogies of the entire island, and possessed the means to check them from a great number of angles, historical, ritual and sociological, and through the converging of family pedigrees. The genealogy of the Superior double-village of Ruruar, as already mentioned, goes back nineteen generations.[1] The only doubtful points occurred in about the fifteenth and sixteenth ascending generations in the male line, when there was occasional doubt as to whether certain ancestors were brothers or not.

Foundation of Pete-hul nine or ten generations ago.

With regard to the Vao genealogies, I obtained only two, namely, the immediate family pedigree of my informant, Ma-taru, of Tolamp,[2] and the historical genealogy from the village of Togh-vanu leading back to the founders of Pete-hul, which is included in Table II. For this genealogy my authority was Pelur, at that time the oldest leading man of Togh-vanu, who was also my chief informant in several other matters. In so far as I was able to check him, he was entirely reliable, and several times over gave me the same list of ancestors, hesitating only over one name.[3]

According to his account, he was himself the seventh (or eighth) in the direct line of descent from the founder of Pete-hul, and the youngest living member of Togh-vanu, his son's son Naturel, was the ninth (or tenth). The best confirmation of his accuracy (within one generation) is, however, the corroboration afforded by Godefroy, who, quite inde-

[1] In the historical genealogies only men are recorded who stand in the direct male line. Women, being lost to the clan, are not remembered.

[2] See Table X.

[3] There was some doubt whether Peleris or Kalo-won was the father of Tulul.

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pendently of me and many years later, himself recorded the genealogy of another member of the same village, an old man named Val-vale, which leads back by an entirely different line of ancestors to the same founder, eleven generations removed from the youngest child then living (see Table III).[1]

The Four Founders of Pete-hul

Returning now to the account of the creation of the first man and woman from the two halves of the *memel* fruit, it will be remembered that, according to my version, the woman bore four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul. The names of these four brothers, according to the alleged order of their birth and with the Quarters they founded, are set out below :

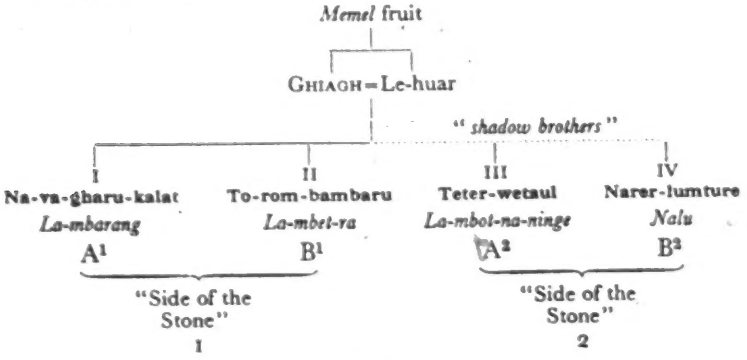

Fig. 7

Of these four names I am able to indicate the meaning of only the first two. *Na-va-gharu* means "two hundred," and *kalat* is the name of a stinging nettle used in neighbouring islands as a whip during initiation and in magic as a symbol of dangerous strength. The usual use of high numbers is for counting the tusked boars sacrificed during the Maki rite. Here it may only be taken as a superlative, so that the name of the eldest brother might possibly be translated "very dangerous man." The name of the second brother, To-rom-bambaru, means "straying wildfowl," a

[1] The genealogies of the remaining villages are not so extensive as those of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu. According to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 49), those of Norohure go back only seven generations, and those of Singon seven or eight. He does not give the numbers for Peter-ihi and Venu. Nor did he succeed in recording the names of the first couple created by Ta-ghar, i.e. Ghiagh and Le-huar, for to his question, "What were the names of the first couple that issued from the *memel* fruit?" the humorous reply was, "We do not know, because the *memel* did not talk" (ibid. p. 47).

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173 common sobriquet for "illicit lover," typical of the bold younger brother with a roving eye.[1] The other two names I am unable to translate.

In the accounts dealing with the foundation of the village to be recounted below, these four brothers are paired in two different ways:

(*a*) The two elder brothers versus the two younger, each of these pairs representing one "Side of the Stone," thus:

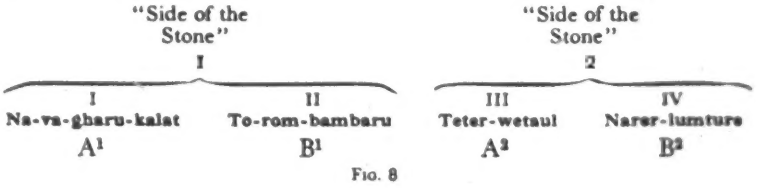


FIG. 8

(*b*) The first and third brothers versus the second and fourth, coupled, that is to say, in alternating ages:[2]

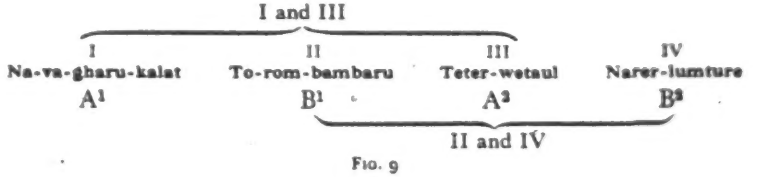
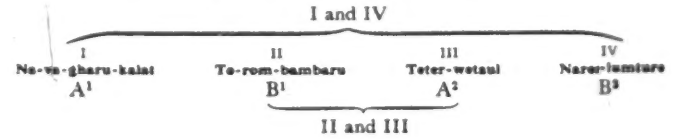


FIG. 9

It is well known that in this type of origin myth individual figures represent groups. It is of course possible, and even probable, that the individuals named actually existed. They cannot, however, have been isolated men, but leaders, and the number of men chosen to figure in the tales clearly depends on the number of groups into which society at that time was divided. It will be noted that the different methods of pairing the four brothers depend on two factors, which are in the first place the

[1] *To*="fowl," *rom*="wild," *bambaru* is a reduplication of *mbaru*="to stray." The name is similar to the name given, in the Atchin labyrinth dances, to the "bush-lovers" who play a prominent part in one of the performances referred to on p. 338.

[2] A third method of pairing not found in the foundation stories is seen on p. 451, in the account of a quarrel in which the descendants of the first and fourth brothers occupying the two northern Quarters of Pete-hul are paired against those of the second and third brothers occupying the two southern Quarters, thus:



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two "Sides of the Stone" numbered 1 and 2, and in the second place the two divisions labelled respectively A and B. As a preliminary explanation of what these two methods of pairing represent, it is of no little interest to note that, according to Godefroy's account, recorded some years after mine, there were only two brothers, whose name he spells Navagarukolat and Torombamba. These clearly correspond to the first and second brothers of my version, both of whom belong to the same "Side of the Stone," but the elder of which belongs to moiety A and the second to moiety B. "The elder of these two brothers," he says, "established his *lesar* [dancing-ground] not far from the great cave, that is to say, at the same spot on which the dancing-ground of Pete-hul now is. He is the founder of the clan of Pete-hul. After a time, the two brothers quarrelled, and the younger, Torombamba, went a little further on to establish his own dancing-ground. That is the dancing-ground of Togh-vanu." [1]

This is a highly simplified version of the split-up of Pete-hul and the foundation of its offshoot village, fuller details of which, including the functions of all four brothers, are given below. I quote it here in order to show how one and the same story can be told from two points of view, depending on the angle from which the narrator sets out to tell it. Thus, despite the apparent discrepancy between the two accounts, both versions are right, and the discrepancy itself is of great value in showing what these two points of view are. In Godefroy's version the narrator was concerned with only one aspect of the kinship system, namely that of the two actual founders of the clan. For, as will shortly be seen, the first and second brothers, who are the only ones mentioned by him, represent in fact the two main patrilineal moieties A and B into which the existing double-village is divided. These are Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1), the founder and elder of the two brothers, and To-rom-bambaru (B^1), the second brother, who co-operated with him at the foundation of the village and built a dancing-ground end-to-end with his, but some of whose descendants subsequently seceded to found a new dancing-ground which then became the centre of the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. As a result of this, Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru are now regarded as the joint ancestors of all the present inhabitants of Pete-hul, but the inhabitants of Togh-vanu are descended only from To-rom-bambaru. These two brothers, it will be noted, both belong to the same "Side of the Stone" (1).

The third and fourth brothers, Teter-wetaul (A^2) and Narer-lumture (B^2), both belonging to the other "Side of the Stone" (2), are not mentioned in Godefroy's account, since his narrator was at the moment clearly not interested in this aspect of the social organisation, but was concerned only with presenting it from one angle, namely that of the two main patrilineal moieties.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 46.

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173 Owing to their function as sub-divisions of these two patrilineal moieties I will refer to them as the two "shadow brothers," leaving the reason for their inclusion in the story to be discussed later in Chapter VI, in which it will be seen that they probably represent the matrilineal moieties operating within each patrilocal clan.[1]

We thus arrive at the following diagrammatic representation of the social significance of the four brothers (Fig. 10), with which may be compared the relative positions of the four Quarters seen in Fig. 5.

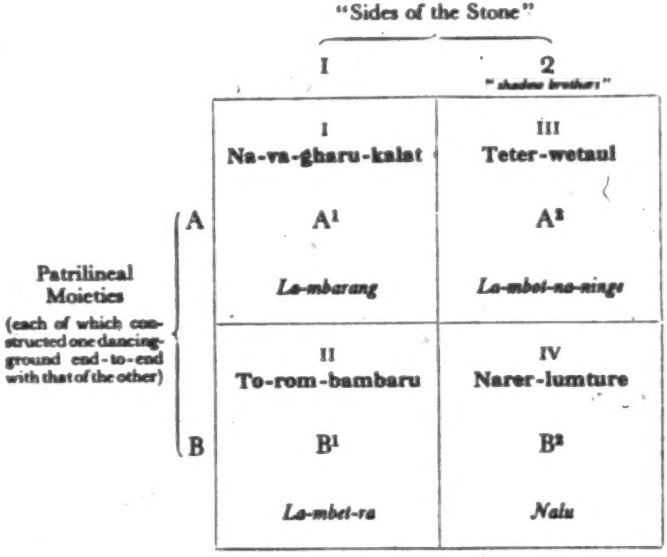

FIG. 10

Function of the four brothers in relation to the four Quarters of Pete-hul. (Brothers in heavy type. Quarters in italics.)

The alleged "ages" of the four founders represent order of precedence of the groups they founded.

A further point of no little importance if we are to understand this foundation story is illustrated by my own first record of it. According to this account, given by my informant Ma-taru without reference to the

[1] See p. 164. Compare Deacon's observation that the 6-section system of kinship of North Ambrim, which has been transformed from one based on overt matrilineal descent into one in which overt descent is now patrilineal, "would be easy to mistake for an ordinary non-class dual organisation" (Deacon, 2, p. 333. For an analysis of this system see pp. 121 ff. of this volume).

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older men, To-rom-bambaru was said to be the eldest brother and Na-va-gharu-kalat the second. Closer enquiry elicited the fact that Ma-taru belonged to the refugee community from the submerged island of Tolamp, who had taken up their quarters on Togh-vanu ground. To-rom-bambaru being the ancestor of the Togh-vanu people, Ma-taru had sought, through personal pride, to claim seniority for him. This kind of juggling with ancestry prompted by emulation is common among all peoples, and is made easier in Malekula by the fact that in foundation myths, as in the kinship system, the terms "elder" and "younger" are often used for the "senior" and "junior" branches of a family or for the "Superior" and "Inferior" divisions of society. Thus, the alleged respective "ages" of the four brothers figuring in the foundation story do not in fact represent ages in years, but the accepted position in society of the groups they represent and the order of precedence accorded to these groups in ritual. By claiming seniority for To-rom-bambaru, Ma-taru was thus trying to establish a point of precedence, and not of age, and in so doing was in fact confusing matters of social organisation on Vao with his own undoubted right of precedence in matters connected with the Maki, due to quite different historical factors, which will be dealt with later.[1]

FOUNDATION OF THE OFFSHOOT VILLAGE TOGH-VANU

TWO DANCING-GROUNDS MADE END-TO-END. CHALLENGE TO STRANGERS LANDING AT KOWU SAID TO BE THE ORIGIN OF WARFARE

I propose now to return to my own fully checked and detailed historical account, which, in the narrations of the natives, follows immediately after the mythological story of the creation of the first man and woman from the split halves of the *memel* fruit. The woman bore four sons, whose names and alleged order of birth have already been given, together with the two ways in which they were paired.

These four brothers, coupled in pairs of alternating ages (that is to say as representing patrilineal moieties), made two dancing-grounds, Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1) and Teter-wetaul (A^2), the first and third brothers, making one, and To-rom-bambaru (B^1) and Narer-lumture (B^2), the second and fourth brothers, making the other. The two dancing-grounds were constructed end-to-end, in the same way as the two dancing-grounds at present existing at Peter-ihi (see Map III) and in the village of Olep on Atchin, in contrast to the usual arrangement of separate dancing-grounds now existing in all the other villages in these two islands. Having made their two dancing-grounds thus end-to-end, the two pairs of alternate brothers proceeded to perform the Maki rite. Both pairs celebrated the

[1] See p. 281.

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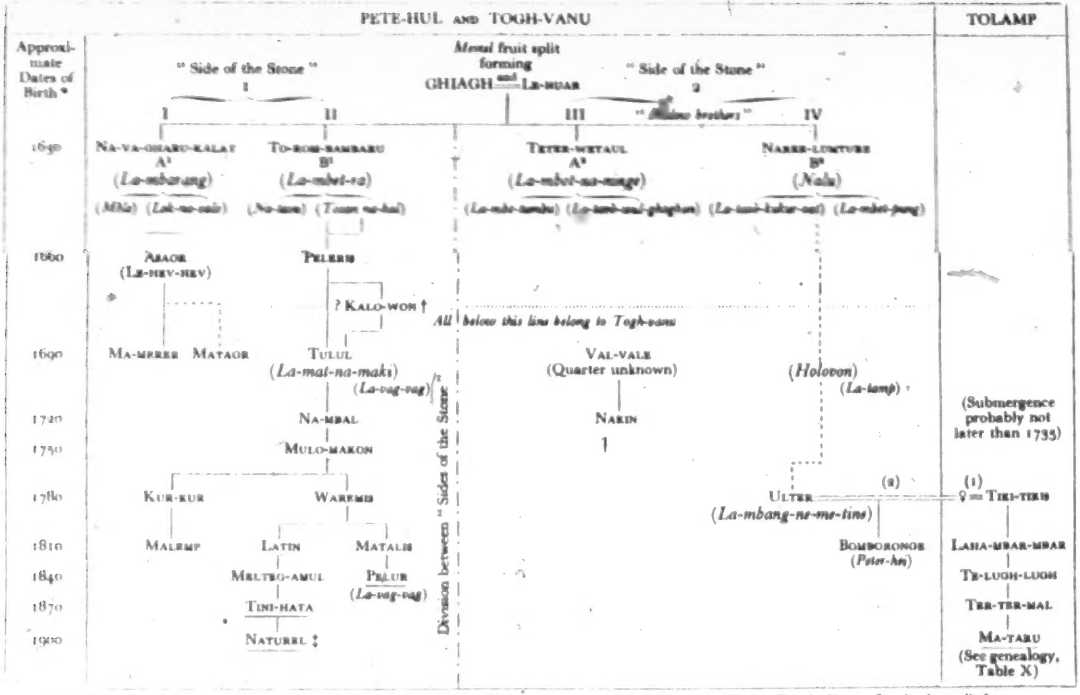
AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT



* For dating see p. 170. † There is some doubt as to the position of Kalo-won. ‡ Named after a well-known French planter. See also Appendix I, p. 750.

TABLE II

Genealogical Table illustrating the foundation of the 4 Quarters and 8 " Sides of the Lodge " in the village of PETE-HUL, and, below the dotted line, of the subsequent history of its offshoot village TOGH-VANU. In another column is a short genealogy of TOLAMP illustrating the events narrated in Chapter XXII.

Names of those still living are underlined. Names of Quarters bracketed and in large italics. Names of " Sides of the Lodge " bracketed and in small italics.

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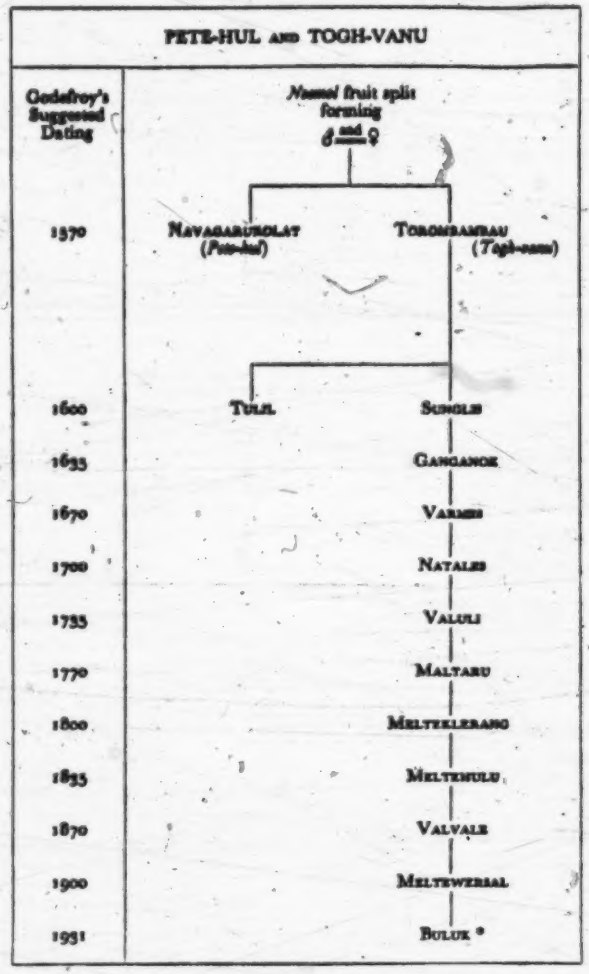

TABLE III

Godefroy's TOGH-VANU genealogy.†

* Buluk is the native pronunciation of the English "bullock," a popular name in the Small Islands.

† Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 52. The names are spelt very variously throughout his text, the spellings here given being the most common.

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601 617 prescribed bride is the same as that in an 8-section system of Australian type, namely that of a man with his MMBDD, or second cross-cousin in the female line. It will be noted further that, owing to the unsplit patrilineal moieties and the consequent equivalence between a man's sister and his MM, his MMBDD is at the same time his DD, whereas in the 6- and 8-section systems above mentioned, owing to the split patrilineal moieties, she is not. This fact is of more than theoretical importance, since it agrees with the statement made by one of Rivers's informants that in North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, men "married their granddaughters."[1] Deacon, judging from his experience in Ambrim, where, as he himself shows, the former system of overt matrilineal descent has already been transformed into a patrilineal one, criticised Rivers's statement, interpreting it to mean that a man marries his MBDD as he does in Ambrim.[2] But the North Raga system agrees in so many other features with that of Vao that I am inclined to believe in Rivers's interpretation that a man did in fact marry a woman who was sociologically equivalent to his DD in the sense that he took his wife from the same marriage section as that to which his DD also belonged. If we may take Rivers's informant at his word, therefore, this evidence strongly supports the partial formulation deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao set out above.

Evidence from South Raga

617 173 Yet stronger evidence than this comes from South Raga, where, as in the Small Islands, the kinship system is in a state of transition and there are now, as in Vao, six patrilocal clans one of which has an origin myth recalling that of Pete-hul, it being said that the man and woman who were the first progenitors of the clan issued from an enormous liana.[3] Here there appears also to be a conflict between the existing marriage regulations based on patrilineal trisections[4] and a former system in which the trisections were matrilineal. This former system in South Raga is enshrined in a creation myth of the utmost importance, since in it the practical results of the kinship system it describes are stated in no uncertain terms.

According to this myth,[5] the creator-deity Barkulkul is represented as being one of six brothers. By throwing a roasted chestnut at the sixth brother's genitals Barkulkul turned him into a woman. Despite this, however, this brother still appears also in the legend as a man, and all six brothers go to the woman one after the other, whereon she addresses them all by different kinship terms.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 199.
[2] Deacon, 2, p. 327.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 388.
[4] See p. 157 below.
[5] Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 984-7. The full story is much longer, and contains many important details besides the kinship factor here quoted.

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The sixth brother she calls "brother."
„ fifth „ „ „ "father."
„ fourth „ „ „ "first cousin," by which is meant "mother's brother's son."
„ third „ „ „ "grandfather," which similarly means "father's father."
„ second „ „ „ "son."
„ first (Barkulkul himself) she calls "her lover, her dear sorcerer," and they all say, "It is good. It is you whom she will marry." That evening he went in to the woman and married her.

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If now we plot out these six relatives it will be seen that each one belongs to one of the six sections in a 6-section system with matrilineal trisections similar to that deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao, always remembering that in this case the speaker is a woman.

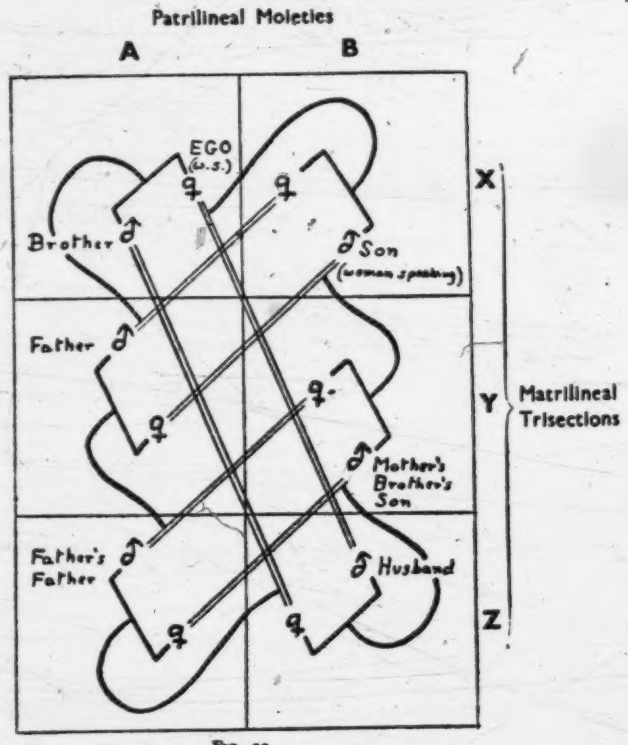

FIG. 32
Kinship diagram illustrating the South Raga Legend of Barkulkul.

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At the same time, a second myth from the same district shows very clearly how, in spite of the asymmetrical division of society into 6 sections, this is still based on a fundamental 4-fold division. This myth [1] tells of a stone called Burto, which is now split, but formerly was not. Two women lived in it. There were also two boys who were twins whose mother threw them away, and they went to live in a cave. Later they both went to take part in a festival. The two women who lived in the stone came there too. The two men became enamoured of the two women, and the two women became enamoured of the two men. After the feast they all went home, the two women into their stone, and the two men into their cave. . . . The two men said to one another, "Let us go and see the two women." So they went, and saw how the two women were always in the stone. Then they split green canes into four sections, like arrows,[2] and struck the stone, singing:

"The song sings, the song cries,
The song cries, let her be my wife,
The woman who is there,
The two women, they two
Who are in the sacred stone,
Who sit inside,
Who live in the stone,
The song cries, let both women come outside."

The stone called Burto opened. The two men looked inside, but saw nothing. They struck the stone again, singing the same song. The stone opened in another place. They peered through the opening, but saw nothing. They struck again, singing the same song. . . . They struck six times, still seeing nothing, but the sixth time the stone opened, and they saw the two women in this hole, a small hole on the side facing the bush.

The two men married the two women, and they all came back to the cave.

This myth demonstrates in the clearest way the fundamental importance of the four original sections out of which the 6-section system has developed, as well as the principle of complementary opposites on which the 4-section system is founded. Stone and cave represent the two principles of male and female descent. The two women live in the male element (the stone) and the two men in the female element (the cave). The two women and the two men represent the fundamental matrilineal and patrilineal moieties in the 4-section element of the 6-section system, which is again symbolised by the splitting of the cane into four sections.[3]

[1] Tattevin, 2, 1931, pp. 863-4.
[2] Arrows are frequently used in marriage rites as a symbol of male sexuality.
[3] For the importance of the number 4 in magic and its connexion with the 4-section element in the kinship system, see p. 647.

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The six sections are referred to only in a secondary way in the account of how they struck the stone six times before it was opened.

FORMULATION OF A 12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Returning now to the Vao system, this 6-section formulation, however, omits one highly important fact, namely that, despite the presence of matrilineal trisections causing the equivalence between a man and his FFF and SSS leading all these to call one another "brother," there still exists at the same time the organisation into "lines" which cause a man for ritual purposes to be identified with his FF and SS. These "lines" are due, as we have seen, to the action of the original unsplit matrilineal moieties, which are thus seen to persist despite the secondary division into matrilineal trisections.

These moieties form the basis of the kinship systems throughout the Small Islands, North Ambrim and the whole of the Northern New Hebrides. Their inclusion as a fundamental feature of life on Vao leads to the final formulation of a 12-section system of a type hitherto unrecorded, formed by the simultaneous operation of matrilineal moieties *and* matrilineal trisections which together form six matrilineal descent groups, each sub-divided into two through the action of the patrilineal moieties.

Such a system is capable of being presented in a great number of ways, each emphasising various aspects. I will therefore follow the plan adopted for other class systems in giving first the structural representation seen in Fig. 33.

This diagram is a repetition of Fig. 32 twice over, to include both sets of moieties, the matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B as well as the matrilineal trisections X, Y and Z. The native kinship terminology is not inserted (this will be given in full in Fig. 34), but letters representing English equivalents indicate certain outstanding features of the system.

It will be seen that, according to this final formulation based on the terminology of kinship, the reason for the apparently opposing claims of the second and third generations in the direct male line to equivalence with EGO is clearly shown. For, while the FF and FFF are both found to be in patrilineal moiety A, they are at the same time separated respectively into matrilineal moieties 1 and 2. The same holds of the SS and SSS. In this way it is seen how the equivalence of alternate generations in the male line is due to the action of the matrilineal moieties, EGO, FF and SS all being found under matrilineal moiety 1, and EGO's F and S under matrilineal moiety 2; while the equivalence between EGO

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CHAPTER XXII

THE SUBMERGENCE OF TOLAMP

AND THE SUBSEQUENT WANDERINGS AND EXPLOITS OF ITS PEOPLE

A MIXTURE OF MYTH, LEGEND, AND FACT

MENTION has already been made of the submerged island of Tolamp, which once rose to the surface between Vao and Atchin and supported a flourishing population, but of which there remains now nothing but a submerged reef marked only by the ceaseless breaking of the surf, round which the natives fish, and which appears on the Admiralty chart under the prosaic name of Bracey Patch. We have seen how the inhabitants of this former island, owing to its position immediately southward of Vao, received the new forms of Maki ritual emanating from the south sooner than Vao, and that this superior social position is still held by the few survivors who are now refugees on Vao, and are still looked up to as "first men" of the Maki and given corresponding precedence in all Maki rites. We have seen also that, after the submergence of their island and before giving up their identity as an individual community, there was a period during which they were established on the mainland of Malekula, where they erected a giant monolith taller than any such monument known in the whole archipelago, and left behind them memorials such as the stone pig reproduced in Plate XI.

The tale of the submergence of this island, and of the subsequent wanderings of its people, is told both on Vao and on Atchin in a number of versions which on analysis suggest that the actual catastrophe occurred about 200 years ago. While agreeing in the main facts, however, these versions differ considerably in detail, and provide such an interesting example of the accretion of mythological factors on to what was without doubt an actual seismic occurrence [1] that I have no hesitation in giving them, so far as they have been recorded, in full.

Tolamp and Mal-weaweng.

The Atchin name for the island as spoken by the younger generation is Tonlap, and by the old men is Tonlamp, which approaches more

[1] Compare the alteration in the configuration of the south-west corner of Ambrim in 1913 owing to volcanic action (see p. 228, note 1).

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of the Vao natives, the two are often referred to together as Tolamp-Mal-vavang, and in Atchin before I had seen the reefs I was given to understand that the two names actually referred to two villages on the same island. It is interesting, therefore, to note that in the names Mal-vavang (according to the Vao pronunciation) and Mal-weaweng (as pronounced on Atchin) the syllables *vavang* and *weaweng* are philologically equivalent to the Oba phrase *wai vung*, there used, as seen on page 97, for "matrilineal moiety," found also in the Atchin phrase *n'ei weaweng* used for the ancestor-images representing all the deceased males belonging to the same matrilineal moiety within the erector's own lodge. It is just possible, therefore, that the two islands sometimes represented on Atchin as two "villages" on the same island may at one time have been occupied by localised matrilineal moieties at some period previous to the introduction of the present system of overt patrilineal descent.

Tolamp closely related to Vao and Mal-weaweng to Atchin.

As, after many intervening generations, the surviving descendants of the original inhabitants of Tolamp have eventually taken up their abode on Vao, and I have a note that those of Mal-weaweng finally took refuge on Atchin, it is probable that, as is at present the case in all the Small Islands, each Side of the now submerged community had affinities by marriage with the Small Island nearest it, namely Tolamp with Vao and Mal-weaweng with Atchin, as well as having the relations with villages on the mainland of Malekula which are definitely stated in the stories about to be related. As almost all the Malekulan villages near the coast have since been wiped out in the wars following the introduction of firearms by European traders, the survivors of each of the two submerged islands (or Sides of one Island) would have no choice but to gravitate to that island to whose inhabitants they were respectively most closely related.

THE TALES

The tales told, bound up as they are with a much earlier creation myth, will be divided for convenience into two parts, dealing respectively with (*a*) the actual submergence; (*b*) the subsequent wanderings of the people.

(*a*) THE FLOOD

Vao versions attribute the flood to the sea, Atchin version to the rain.

Turning now to the tales told of the submergence, I have recorded three separate versions, and Godefroy has recorded a fourth. Of these, two are told on Vao, in both of which the island is referred to as Tolamp, and two on Atchin, each referring to Mal-weaweng. All four stories agree in essentials, but show interesting variations in the mythological

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motives that have been attached to them. Thus, in the two versions recorded on Vao the submergence is said to have been caused by the encroachment of the sea, which in one case bursts out of a hole in the land, whereas in the two Atchin versions the agent was torrential rains. This is of interest, since tales of submergence by the sea bursting forth from a confined space on land are typical of the matrilineal island of Oba, with which Vao is culturally in so much closer contact than Atchin. If it is permitted here to bring in the findings of modern psychological research, I may be allowed to point out that of the two water elements, the sea and rain, the sea is almost universally regarded as female, while rain, coming from above, is male. It is thus not surprising to find that in the largely matrilineal island of Vao the agent responsible for the submergence is the sea, while in the more patrilineal island of Atchin it is the rain.

Following out this line of reasoning founded on male and female elements, it is interesting to note further that the version which attributes the flood to the sea bursting out of a hole in the land contains a number of other allusions to a system of matrilineal moieties, and makes no mention of any kind of quarrel based on considerations of kinship organisation. This is quite natural if we consider the mythological element in this version of the tale to be based on an undisturbed matrilineal dual organisation. In the remaining three versions, however, the flood itself is said to have been magically caused by an outraged father-in-law living on the mainland, whose daughter was married to a man living on the island, the inference being, though not overtly stated in the tales, that his action represented his protest against the newly introduced patrilineal organisation that gave the husband overmuch power over the wife.

In the first version there is, moreover, no mention of the Maki, which is an essentially patrilineal development of the public graded society, and which is specifically mentioned in all three remaining versions.

Yet another point of importance is the occurrence of the number 7 in one Atchin version only, this number, as we have already seen in connexion with the mortuary rites,[1] being the resurrection number among the patrilineal communities of Malekula as opposed to the matrilineal number 5.

With this brief introduction, I will now give the four versions, beginning with that recorded by Godefroy from Vao.

VERSION I (TOLD ON VAO OF TOLAMP)[2]

This, the most mythical account of all, states that:

"One day, when they [the Tolamp folk] were all getting ready to go to the mainland, one man told his two small boys to stay at home on the island, telling them that they might play close to their house, but must

[1] See pp. 560, 640.

[2] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 49.

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on no account go to the other Side of the Island. After their parents had gone, the two brothers played about for a bit, and then went over to the other Side. After a while, feeling tired, they sat down and, in the course of their play, started hollowing out a hole in the sand. Their hands came up against two stones. They uncovered them; they were large; they lifted them up. Then suddenly, water began to spring forth, to rise, and finally to gush out of the hole. It was the sea that was swallowing up the island. The few men who had stayed at home on the island immediately signalled to those on the mainland and to those on the island of Vao. They rushed and broke off branches in the vain attempt to stop up the hole. But it was useless; the flow of water forced them back. They broke off branches from a magic tree so as to turn the water towards the shore. It was no use; the hole grew as they watched. Then there was a panic. All the men of Tolamp who had come back from the mainland gathered together their pigs, their bows, their tools for hollowing out canoes, their Ambrim stones which they used for cooking their puddings, everything they could, then sailed back over the strait and established themselves on the mainland. Some who had not hurried enough were swallowed up by the flood; others tried to swim and were eaten by sharks. The island foundered beneath six feet of water at low tide.

"Most of the population escaped, however, to that part of the coast facing the island, called Atchin Point."

Comment

(*a*) Evidence of social segmentation

This story is of great interest from two points of view. In the first place, it provides evidence of a division into a number of moieties, since the island is represented as being divided into two Sides, one of which is further sub-divided into two social groups clearly represented by the man's two sons, and the other into two other moieties represented by the two stones. The two boys did wrong in going to the other Side of the Island, and it was this act of disobedience that caused the flood.

(*b*) The nature of the flood. Comparative evidence

The second point of interest is in the nature of the flood, represented as the sea issuing from a hole in the ground, recalling tales told on the matrilineal islands of Maewo and Oba. As a study in the local application of mythological motives these tales are worth quoting.

(i) *Maewo.* "*How Tagaro made the Sea.*"

The first, told on Maewo, is called "How Tagaro made the Sea," [1] and runs: "They say that he made the sea, and that in old times the sea

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 370.

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was quite small, like a common pool upon the beach, and that this pool was at the back of his house, and that there were fish in the pool, and that he had built a stone wall round it. And Tagaro was gone out to look at the various things he had made, and his wife was in the village, and his two children were at home, whom he had forbidden to go to the back of the house.[1] So when he was gone the thought entered into the mind of those two, Why has our father forbidden us to go there? And they were shooting at lizards and rats; and after a while one said to the other, Let us go and see what that is he has bid us keep away from. So they went and saw the pool of salt-water with many fish crowding together in it. And one of the boys stood on the stones Tagaro had built up, and he sees the fish, and he shoots at one and hits it; and as he runs to catch hold of it he threw down a stone, and then the water ran out. And Tagaro heard the roaring of the water and ran to stop it; and the old woman laid herself down in the way of it, but nothing could be done; those two boys who had thrown down the stone took clubs like knives and prepared a passage for the sea, one on one side and the other on the other side of the place, and the sea followed as it flowed. And they think that the old woman turned into a stone, and lies now on the part of Maewo near Raga."

(ii) *Oba.* "*Story of the Old Woman, how she made the Sea.*"

The second, told on Oba, is called "Story of the old Woman, how she made the Sea," [2] and runs: "Nobody knows what her name was, but she was an old woman. And there were two children who lived with her in her house, but nobody knows what their father's and mother's names were; the story about them is that the mother of these two was the daughter of this old woman. Her house was a good one, fenced about with reeds; there was a fence all round the house, and there was a fence also made against the back of the house, and those two children were forbidden to go into it, because she would be there by herself. And in that little fence at the back of the house she put carefully a leaf of the *via* (gigantic caladium); and they say that in that leaf she always made water, and was always very strict in forbidding those two to go there, lest they should see it. And these two were both boys, and they were always shooting lizards. So one day when the old woman went into the garden to work and to bring back food for the three of them, she said to those two, Don't you go there! and they answered, Very well, we shall not go. And she went out of the house, and went into the gardens, and those two brothers played with their bows, shooting lizards. After a

[1] This probably refers to the fact that the two ends of each communal man's house belonged respectively to the opposing matrilineal moieties. In this way the "back of the house" in Maewo would correspond to the "other Side of the Island" in Tolamp.

[2] Codrington, 3, pp. 372-3.

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while one said to the other, It would be a good thing to go and see what it is where the old woman has forbidden us to go. Very well, said the other, let us go; so they went, and they saw that *via* leaf and the water in it. Then they saw a lizard sitting on a part of that leaf, and one of them shot at it, but missed the lizard and hit the leaf, and the water that was in it burst quickly forth. And the old woman heard it, and perceived that those two had probably shot the leaf. And she stood up and cried with a loud voice [here follow native words meaning] Pour round about and meet! Roundabout the world! And thus the sea for the first time stood full around the whole world, for before that they say there was no sea. So the old woman you may say made the sea herself."

This last phrase, and the fact that the water which subsequently became the sea came in the first place out of a woman, provides interesting confirmation of the suggestion put forward above that the sea is regarded as being female and that mythological references to floods caused by the sea as opposed to those caused by rain are connected primarily with matrilineal descent.

Flood tales probably originated among a continental people.

When we compare these stories, it becomes clear that, to the true story of the submergence of Tolamp has been added a flood myth long antedating the actual physical occurrence. Apart from any psychological or sociological considerations, two questions present themselves regarding them: What could possibly have given rise, among a seafaring people such as these, to the idea (*a*) that there was originally no sea, but only land?; (*b*) that the sea in the first place came out of a hole in the land? I venture to suggest that the reason may be partly historical, the idea having arisen among a continental people who, from observing water gushing out of springs and then gathering into rivers which finally poured themselves into the sea, drew the conclusion that the rivers gave rise to the sea which then spread itself in both directions as in the two stories from Maewo and Oba, and so finally "surrounded the world." However this may be, it is clear that the myth is not of local origin, but is derived from whatever source is responsible for the whole Tagaro-Qat complex already discussed in Chapter IX.[1]

Remaining three versions attribute the flood to the weather magic of a mainlander whose daughter was married on the island.

I will now return to the three other native versions of how the island of Tolamp–Mal-weaweng was submerged. Of these three, all of which

[1] Yet another myth dealing with the submergence of an island told in Vanua Lava is recorded by Codrington (3, p. 375). Here an anthropomorphic Eel warns a friendly family to escape, and himself causes the submergence by means of a great surf.

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I recorded myself, one was collected on Vao and the two others on Atchin. In the Vao version the flood is said to have been caused by the sea, and in the two Atchin versions by rain. In all three cases, however, the catastrophe is said to have been brought about by the weather magic of an inhabitant of the Malekulan mainland (the particular spot on the mainland differs in each version), whose daughter was married to a man on the doomed island, in revenge for the latter's insulting attitude towards him. In all three, also, the occasion when the quarrel occurred was an important rite connected with the Maki (though here also each version mentions a different part of the ritual cycle).

VERSION 2 (TOLD ON VAO OF TOLAMP)

The men of Tolamp were making Maki, and had arrived at the rite there called *Navin*, which is equivalent to the dancing of *Settling-Down* before the Maki on Vao. Now the wife of one of the Tolamp men was a native of Lembu, a Malekulan village on the mainland path connecting the beaches opposite to Vao and Atchin. Wishing to bring her relatives from the mainland to witness the rite, she took her husband's canoe to fetch them. After the rite was over, and they had gone home again, her husband was angry with her for having taken his canoe without his permission, and swore at her. So she went over to the mainland, and told her father. He said to her, "Very well, bring your children over here to me. Don't tell anyone about it. Just come." And when she had brought her children safely over to the mainland, her father worked his weather magic and made a great sea. And the sea swamped the island, and the inhabitants were thrown into the water, and those who were not drowned swam ashore on to the mainland at Lembu.

The two Atchin versions are more circumstantial. Both refer to the island as Mal-weaweng.

VERSION 3 (TOLD ON ATCHIN OF MAL-WEAWENG)

The people of Mal-weaweng had a traditional friendship with the inhabitants of Showul, a Malekulan village on the coast facing Mal-weaweng and Atchin, and on a certain occasion when the great Maki sacrifice was about to be performed they went over to fetch their relatives from Showul, since the people of that place, being mainlanders, have no canoes. The ultimate origin of the trouble that subsequently arose is not stated, but the immediate cause is that when one of the Showul women who was married to a man on Mal-weaweng proposed to her husband that she should take his canoe to fetch her father from Showul, he swore at her, saying, "Go and take a banana skin and bring him in that." This phrase probably referred to the belief already men-

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tioned that ghosts travelling to Ambrim use banana skins as canoes,[1] the suggestion being that the husband wished his wife's father were dead. In any case it was a gross insult, with the result that she turned away in anger and, taking a canoe belonging to another man of the island, brought him home in that. And all the time she was paddling she cried, but would not tell him why. It was not till they arrived on the island that she told him what her husband had said about fetching him in a banana skin. Then he on his side was angry, and said, "Why did you not tell me that on the mainland? If you had, I should not have come. And now that we are already here, you tell me. It is too late to go back now; but I will not go to your house—let us go straight to the dancing-ground." So they went there, and when the pigs had been sacrificed for the Maki, the husband said to him, "Come to my house and eat some pudding." But the Showul man refused, and when the pigs were being distributed he said to his daughter, "If you hear a great rain in the night, take your yams and children and paddle them over to Showul. If you do not come when the rain starts you will be lost."

The father went back to Showul, leaving his daughter on Mal-weaweng. That night it began to thunder and the rain poured down in torrents. Then she remembered her father's words, and took a canoe and paddled with her children to Showul. And the rain increased and a hurricane arose and there was a great flood. And the waters covered the island and entered the Lodge, so that the men within it climbed up and clung to the ridge-pole (*wobat*), and if any man let go he was drowned. But a few swam ashore and reached dry land at Lembu.

In the morning the father said to his daughter, "Go down to the beach and look out, and see whether your husband is still there." And she went to look, but there was no Mal-weaweng to be seen—nothing but sea and the tops of trees. And she came back and told her father.

VERSION 4 (TOLD ON ATCHIN OF MAL-WEAWENG)

According to the second Atchin version, there were two brothers on Mal-weaweng, and the elder, who was married to a woman of the mainland village of Tutu, inland from Showul, was performing the ceremony of *Tab-tabuhen* (which is the Atchin name for the rite of consecrating the tusked boars destined for sacrifice at the Maki), and his father-in-law had promised to come to witness it. On the day in question the latter came down to the shore at Showul, where he was met by his daughter, who paddled him over in a canoe to Mal-weaweng. Now her husband had cut a bunch of bananas of the kind called *mat-mat* to be grated into a special pudding for the feast accompanying the rite. But the father was in a state of fast or mourning (*tour*)—my informant did not know on

[1] See p. 227.

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what account—during which yams are forbidden, so she gave him the bananas to eat.

After a time, her husband came and said, "What have you done with the bananas?" So she told him, and he said nothing, but was angry. When the rite was over, his wife went to him and said, "I am going to take my father back to the mainland." Then he swore, and threw some of the banana skins at her, and said crossly, "Very well, you go and take your father to the mainland." And she sat down and cried. And when she had finished crying she went and talked to her husband's younger brother, and said to him, "Let me take your canoe to paddle my father to the mainland." He said, "What's the matter with your husband's canoe?" She said, "He's angry, and doesn't want me to take my father home." "All right," he said, "my canoe is on the beach. Go and take it." So she took it, and paddled her father over. And when they got to Showul, she burst out crying again, and told him what her husband had done. So he said, "Very well, you wait seven days, and tell your husband's brother to come and see me then, and I will reward him [1] for the use of his canoe."

Then he went home, and built a new conical store-house, very strong, and gathered yams and cooking-leaves and bananas and all kinds of food and piled them inside it. Then he built another outside the first, and stored that full of food. Five such houses he built, one outside the other, and collected a great store of food against the rain that was to come.

And on the seventh day the woman said to her husband's brother, "Let us go and pay a visit to my father." He said, "Why?" And she said, "He told me to bring you to see him today so that he may reward you for the use of your canoe." So they went ashore and up the hill to Tutu.

That night her father, being a weather magician,[2] made the rain. And it rained, and rained, and the wind blew, and the outer one of his five store-houses was broken through. Then he told his daughter to go to Showul, to see what she could of Mal-weaweng. And when she came back, and they asked her what she had seen, she said, "Only one tree is still left standing in the dancing-ground." And the rain poured down and the wind blew, and next morning her father said to her, "Go down again to Showul, and look again to see what is left of Mal-weaweng." And she went and looked, and could see nothing. And she came back and told them.

7 is Re-birth number on Atchin

It is worth noting that, even in this comparatively circumstantial account, seven days elapse between the giving of the insult and the storm,

[1] The Atchin phrase for "I will reward him" is *pe lemak sen.*
[2] Atchin *pet wahit.* *Pet* means "stone." The magician is a "stone man."

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and that five superimposed roofs are said to have been built over the magician's food-store. 7 is the typical resurrection and re-birth number on Atchin, as opposed to 5 on Vao. The use of these two numbers agrees with the view already expressed that the tale of the submergence of the island has become a hook on which to hang a much earlier flood-creation myth. Whether weather magic in fact takes seven days to mature I do not know. Much longer periods of incubation have been recorded. Deacon records that the length of time taken by a magician in South-West Malekula in preparation for a magical act "depends in part upon the potency with which he wishes to invest his magic, upon the intensity of his wrath or desire for vengeance. . . . In Lambumbu ten days appears to be the normal period" of intensive preparation.[1]

The possible efficacy of weather magic

I will make no further comment on these stories other than to suggest that, under certain circumstances, the efficacy of weather magic may not be so illusory as is popularly thought. It has for the last few centuries in Europe been the fashion to minimise the power of the human psyche over the phenomena of external nature. Modern research, however, has gone a long way towards proving the reality of the phenomena connected with the exteriorisation of psychical energy, though there are not many among us who are now able to control them. It is, moreover, almost certain that primitive people with relatively undifferentiated egos are in touch with collective powers to a far greater extent than modern man, and that native magicians and others with special gifts in that direction develop and foster them by means of a definite technique. Weather magicians exist among primitive communities throughout the world, and it is well known that they undergo periods of fasting and psychic preparation of an intensive nature before attempting to practise their art. It is unlikely that so much energy should have been expended by so many natives of high standing in so many places and for such uncounted ages if no results whatever were forthcoming. I therefore suggest, not of course that all weather phenomena are capable of being brought under human control, but that in favourable circumstances the relatively close connexion between the primitive mind and natural forces may be such that some kind of contact may indeed be established on the lower levels of consciousness by means of which a certain measure of control may become operative. Thus, while in the accounts just given the real cause of the submergence was clearly some kind of seismic disturbance of a kind not uncommon on the volcanic belt in which the New Hebrides lie, it is interesting to note that the narrators, all of whom attribute it to human agency, are unanimous in staging the kind of psychic tension that they would consider necessary

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 685.

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to stimulate the magician's powers to their maximum extent, namely the great emotional effect connected with all Maki rites coupled with an acute kinship problem and sense of personal injury.[1]

(*b*) The Subsequent Wanderings of the Survivors of Tolamp on the Mainland of Malekula

We have seen how, in the tales regarding the submergence of Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, the facts have in large measure been dressed up and made to fit in with a mythological pattern of much more ancient date. I have no further record of what happened to the inhabitants of Mal-weaweng, except that the descendants of some of the survivors eventually took refuge on Atchin. I have, however, two records of the subsequent wanderings of the survivors of Tolamp on the mainland of Malekula till the last remnants of their descendants finally settled on Vao. These tales show a similar admixture of facts with mythological and ritual data.

[1] The reader interested in this important subject should study Chapter XXIII on Magic in Deacon's *Malekula*. This work, dealing with South-West Malekula, cannot be taken as applying in detail to the Small Islands, but the principles underlying the practice of magic are probably the same. He says (p. 688): "The performance of any magical act is composed really of three parts: firstly, the elaborate and often very lengthy preparation for the act, by a rigorous asceticism [including abstinence of all kinds], by means of which the performer at once safeguards himself [against the forces he raises turning themselves against himself] and gains power; secondly, the magical rite itself, 'the experimental arrangement and manipulation by which the intensity accumulated by the preparation is made to become effective towards a definite object'; and thirdly, the words uttered, or other means employed (as, for instance, making a feint with spear or blow-gun), both to 'shoot off' the magic and direct it, and to act as a flood-gate for the pent-up strain of the performer." Further, "It seems to me that much more attention needs to be paid to the antecedents of the magical act; that to a considerable extent the sympathetic-contagious principle which Frazer brought out is employed in preparing the channel or mechanism through which the magic is to act (similar, for instance, to a system of pulleys in mechanics), but that the power or force is something distinct, owing its genesis to the whole 'psychological series' leading up to the moment at which the sympathetic-contagious mechanism is released. So far as I can see, the acceptance of the sympathetic-contagious principle is absolutely implicit; it is what 'logic' or 'common sense' is with us, a thing unthinkable to deny, inevitable, universal. It is as impossible for the native to think a proposition based on this principle untrue as it is for us to think an obvious logical proposition untrue. . . . Again and again a discussion has ended by my realising that the magical principle was to my partner in the discussion so implicitly accepted as to make any consciousness of it or generalisation about it unthinkable. With the greatest intelligence he would prepare to doubt or discuss any one particular method, its efficacy, etc., but as for a suspicion that there was some fundamental mental process entering into all his magic—no, never! This leads up to the point that the native sorcerer or magician is absorbed, not in the mechanism of the magic, but in the 'psychological series' preceding the 'magical act.' It seems clear that he is conscious of some entity, capable of generalisation, though he may be unable to generalise it, which enters as an essential into every magical act; you can call it 'magical force,' 'power,' 'necessary psychological state,' or what you will. It seems to me to be the sort of entity that, for instance, sin is in the Christian 'heretical' sects." (Deacon, 4, pp. 688-9.)

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VERSION 1 (TOLD ON VAO)

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I will give first a more recent matter-of-fact and very over-simplified version recorded by Godefroy on Vao. He considers that the actual submergence took place "at least 150 years ago." [1] After describing the landing of the original survivors on what he calls Atchin Point, he says: "There they constructed a new dancing-ground, and built a new village round it. Later, however, they complained that the new village was too close to the path along which men pass from one island to another, so they decamped again, establishing themselves this time in the interior, towards the mountains. There they established relations with other tribes, but had no dancing-ground of their own. That was the irremediable end of Tolamp as an independent people. Finally, about 100 years ago, reduced to no more than five or six families, they asked hospitality of the people of Vao. Here they were received by the people of Toghvanu and Pete-hul. Today there are no more than two families left; a third died out five years ago." [2]

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The two versions recorded by me, while giving the story in somewhat greater detail, are both dressed in a ritual pattern that can hardly be in accordance with actual fact, depending as they both do on the use of the mystic number 7, recalling the seven days it took for the magician to brew the storm in Version 4 dealing with the actual submergence of the island. This use of the number 7 clearly indicates that the conception lying behind all these tales is one of ritual re-birth, a resurrection following on the catastrophe of the flood. I will give first the version recorded on Vao.

VERSION 2 (TOLD ON VAO)

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Now the survivors who landed at Lembu were a people without a home. First they made a dancing-ground in one place, then in another. They made one at a place now called Le-sar [3] Moloto, and made Maki there. Then they moved to a place called Na-talal, and made Maki there. Then to Le-sar Asum, then to La-mbar-humbun, and then to Tambi. At each of these places they made Maki, and then moved elsewhere. All these places were close to the sea and in sight of the submerged island. At the Maki at Tambi were still present some of those who were born on Tolamp. At last the men of the mainland village

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 215. According to my own calculations it must have taken place even earlier, since the giant monolith set up by the survivors' descendants (see p. 586) was erected not less than 150 years ago.

[2] Ibid., 1, 1933, p. 49.

[3] Le-sar is the locative form of the Vao *se-sar*, meaning "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

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of Le-mel [1] Pughe persuaded them, and said, "It is no use your always staying close to the sea. You keep on thinking of your island and hoping that one day you will be able to go back to it, and you can't settle down and stay in one place. It were better you come up here and stay with us." So they left Tambi and went up to Le-mel Pughe and founded a permanent village there, and called it after their lost island, Tolamp.[2]

Now all their pigs had been drowned, so when they wanted to make Maki they had at first to sacrifice 100 ants, then 100 shell-beads (*na-sum*), then 100 dogs, then 100 crabs (*na-ghav*), then 100 shell-fish of a kind called *na-ghar*, then 100 *ninge* nuts, and hundreds of many other things, till at last they made a proper Maki with a hundred pigs.

The substitution of other forms of sacrifice such as those mentioned above instead of pigs is a type of myth common throughout the Small Islands and North Malekula when dealing with the origin of the Maki. While details of the kinds of animal or fruit sacrificed vary somewhat, the number of kinds, including the final sacrifice of pigs, is invariably seven, as is the case in the above account. It will be noted also that, including Lembu, the place where they first swam ashore, the survivors changed their abode seven times before finally settling down in their new home and called it after the name of their lost island, Tolamp. In the Atchin version, though the names of the places are not all the same, the fact that seven was the number of changes made is definitely stated as a significant fact. This version runs as follows:

VERSION 3 (TOLD ON ATCHIN)

When Mal-weaweng was submerged, the men of Tonlap (Tolamp) swam across to a place on the mainland coast called Viawor, and made a village there and a dancing-ground. But all their pigs had been drowned, so they had none to sacrifice. So they said, "It is useless for us to stop here. We must go elsewhere." So they went to Le-tsar [3] Na-ghar and made a dancing-ground. But still they had no pigs, so they moved again to Le-tsar Mòlŏti, then to Le-tsar Na-shum, then to Bot N'amil. Each time they made a new dancing-ground, but still had no pigs. At last they came to Tabwish, where the men of Vao come ashore to go to their gardens. Here they stopped, till the men of Mel Tar said, "It is useless for you to stop here. Come with us, and we will go a little way

[1] *Mel* is one of the many forms connected with the Vao word *ghamal*, used with the meaning of "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

[2] This is said to have occurred a long time before the birth of Pelur (see genealogy, p. 93).

[3] *Le-tsar* is the Atchin and mainland form of the Vao *le-sar*, the locative form of the word used for the dancing-ground round which each village centres.

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into the bush, and found a village there." So they went with the men of Mel Tar, and settled down and called the place Tonlap.

It will be noticed that the names of two of the substitute objects said to have been sacrificed in the Vao version appear in the names of the places at which dancing-grounds were made, which suggests some connexion between the two. Being unable to state what the precise connexion may be, I will content myself with tabulating the facts, hoping that subsequent research may provide a solution:

Places stopped at		Substitute Objects sacrificed in Vao Version
Vao Version	*Atchin Version*	
Lembu	Viawor	Ants
Le-sar Moloto	Le-tsar Na-ghar	Shell-beads (*na-sum*)
Na-talal	Le-tsar Moloti	Dogs
Le-sar Asum	Le-tsar Na-shum	Crabs (*na-ghav*)
La-mbar-humbun	Bot N'amil	Shell-fish (*na-ghar*)
Tambi	Tabwish	Canary nuts (*ninge*)
Le-mel Pughe (Tolamp)	Mel Tar (Tonlap)	Pigs

(*c*) Subsequent Events in the Mainland Village of Tolamp

Laha-mbar-mbar and the Erection of the Giant Monolith

At first the uprooted survivors had died at a terrible rate from sickness and despair, until at last, apart from the younger generation, there were, according to tradition, only four old men left. These were Melteg-mal, Rambrambe, Lilten and Vel-tamat, who doubtless represent four divisions of society in the same way as the four brothers alleged to have founded the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

In their new home they prospered and made Maki many times, and became once more so powerful as to attempt, and very nearly to carry out, the greatest physical and ritual feat ever heard of in Malekula, namely, the erection of the largest monolith ever set up within the limits of the Maki culture-complex.

As the two versions of this story obtained on Vao and on Atchin agree in all essential points, I propose here to combine them into one. The only discrepancy of any note is that in the Vao version this event is placed some time after the survivors had been settled in the new Tolamp, while the Atchin version asserts that it took place during the first Maki performed there and makes the enterprise due to the miraculous acquisition of a sow, which finally released the wanderers from the necessity of sacrificing only the substitute objects mentioned above.

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Laha-mbar-mbar, "*Missing Testicle*," *the son of a woman who conceived by means of a snake before intercourse with her husband Tiki-tikis.*

The hero of the story is a man called, in Vao, Laha-mbar-mbar, and in Atchin Las-par-par, from *laha* (*las*), meaning "testicle," and *mbar* (*par*), "to be missing," because, according to the Vao version, he has no testicles, and according to the Atchin version only one.[1] I give the story of his birth in its Atchin version, which in this case is the most complete, but in transcribing it I will, for the sake of uniformity, retain the Vao form of the name Laha-mbar-mbar.

Laha-mbar-mbar's father was a Tolamp man named Tiki-tikis, who married the younger of two sisters from the mainland village of Pot-nangal, the elder being married to a man of the neighbouring village of Pweter-ul. Tiki-tikis's marriage was of a type not uncommon in Malekula, the girl being not yet of age for sexual intercourse when her husband led her home to Tabwish, the sixth and last village before the foundation of the final settlement once again called Tolamp. On the way, he walked quickly in front, while she followed more slowly behind, which caused him to stop from time to time in order to let her catch him up, when he would immediately again go on ahead. Not far from her own home a large snake came into the path. Tiki-tikis, as usual, was on ahead, so did not see the snake. But when the girl came to the spot, it caught and bit her.[2] Tiki-tikis heard her cry, and ran back, saying, "What's the matter?" She said, "That snake bit me," and as he ran he saw the snake, but said, "We cannot kill it." And he took a leaf and rubbed the wound, and said, "Throw the leaf with the blood on it back to the snake." And she did so. And he took the girl and gave her to his mother to look after till she should be of age. And the wound healed.

And she was still young, and Tiki-tikis had not yet lain with her, but she conceived and became with child without intercourse. And his mother saw that she was big, and said, "If she is with child, whose is it?" Tiki-tikis thought hard, and said, "But she is too young. If the girl were old enough, I could understand. I cannot think how she has

[1] These are the local explanations. It is worth noting, however, that in Sa'a and Ulawa, in the Solomon Islands, *alaha* (of which *a* is the personal article) means "chief" (see Ivens, 1, p. 57).

[2] Snakes are phallic symbols throughout Melanesia (see Speiser, 4). Small Island and Northern New Hebridean mythology in general is full of tales of men and women both turning into snakes (see, for example, Codrington, 3, Tales 11 and 12, pp. 403, 404; Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 991-3). It is said that of the inhabitants of the mainland village of Botore, close to Lcuru opposite Vao, all men (but not women) when they die turn into snakes of a kind called *tambere*. A mother's brother's daughter of my informant Ma-taru was married to a Botore man who died. She subsequently returned to her home at Togh-vanu on Vao, but no man will marry her because they are afraid that if any man did so her former husband would come in the form of a *tambere* snake and eat him. I have a note of a snake called *Le-venturu* who gave birth to a girl and created a species of yam called *bihure*.

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PLATE XXII

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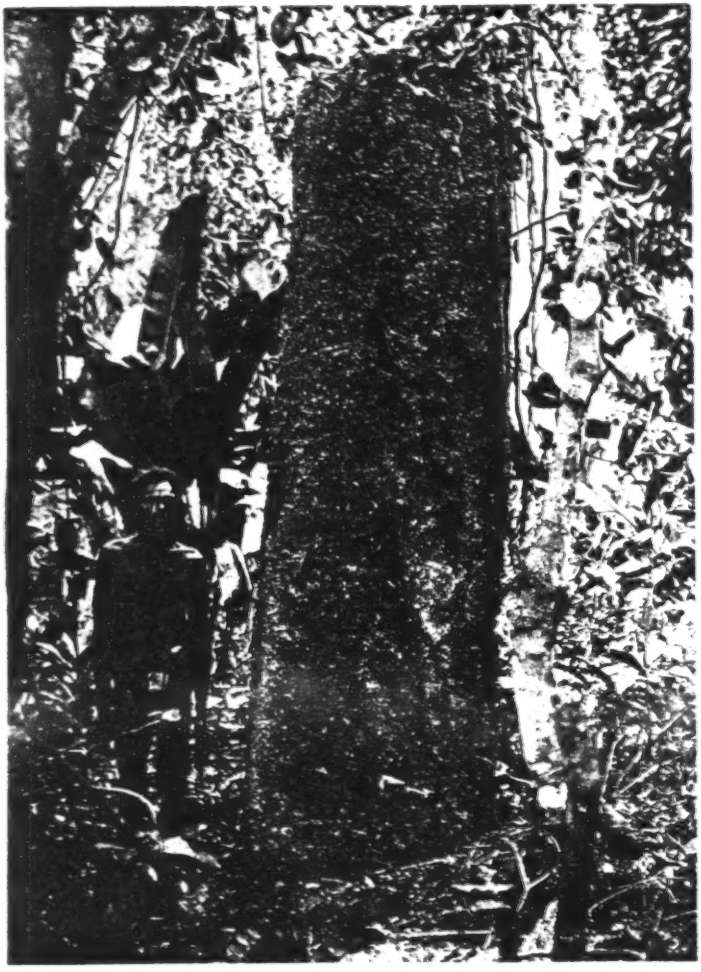

Base of the giant monolith erected in the mainland village of Tolamp, with my informant Ma-taru alongside

[facing p. 582]

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become like that." And she bore a son, and one of his testicles was missing, for the snake had eaten it. So they called him Laha-mbar-mbar, "Missing Testicle." She had also a second child, whose name is forgotten.

She finds a sow at the spot where she conceived. The sow gives birth to five circle-tuskers.

After a time, she went to pay a visit to her mother's brother at Potnangal, carrying Laha-mbar-mbar on her back. Tiki-tikis went on in front, as before. When they came to the place where the snake had bitten her, she saw before her in the road a young sow. She caught hold of the sow, which squealed, and Tiki-tikis, hearing the noise, looked back and asked, "What's that?" She said, "This sow is for my son." He replied, "All right, you take it," and she took the sow back with her to Tolamp, and fed it, so that it grew. And it was not long before the sow had a litter of five male pigs, each one of which grew to be a circle-tusker.

They make a seventh dancing-ground and call the place Tolamp.

Having at last the necessary pigs to sacrifice for a Maki, they said, "Now we will make a new dancing-ground. We have moved six times already, and found no pigs. Now that we have found a pig we will move a seventh time." So they founded the seventh village since their sojourn on the mainland and called it Tolamp. And when they had cleared the ground, they went in search of a monolith worthy of the occasion.

They attempt to fell a giant monolith 30 feet high, but fail.

This monolith was a coral block about 30 feet high and about 3 feet thick, which stood, or, as the natives say, "grew," in a ravine called La-mat-mat. When it had been decided to remove this to the village, the men of Vao and of all the surrounding mainland villages were invited, according to custom, to come in turn (*ar tame vanu*) to strike the base of the block with stone adzes in order to detach it from the body of the rock. The usual pigs and yams were distributed among the workers, but however hard they worked they could not succeed in felling it, and the enterprise was abandoned.

The monolith accidentally felled—and broken—by Laha-mbar-mbar's mother while searching for crabs.

Now one day the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar was on her way down to the shore, because it was low tide (*wuwò*) and she wanted to catch crabs. The particular kind of crab she sought was that called *na-ghav*[1] which lives in holes in the reef, and when one is seen entering its hole the searcher breaks open the mouth of the hole with a special hard stone

[1] It will be remembered that this was one of the substitute animals sacrificed by the survivors before they had acquired any pigs.

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called for this purpose *wet-wowu* and thus secures the crab. Such a stone the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar was carrying in her basket as she passed by La-mat-mat, musing on the fearful expense in pigs and yams incurred by her son in inviting all the villages to assist him in the apparently endless job of felling the giant monolith. Suddenly she saw a crab scuttling into a hole in the base of the monolith itself. Without thinking, she took the hard stone out of her basket and started breaking away the mouth of the hole, to get at the crab. As she struck, suddenly the monolith toppled, and fell over into the ravine, breaking into three pieces.

Laha-mbar-mbar sacrifices at the felled monolith, and his mother eats the sacrificial pig.

When she saw what she had done, she ran back to the village and told her son, "I have felled the stone." He would not believe her, and said, "How could you do what the men of all the villages have been trying to do in vain?" She said, "Come and look." So he went,[1] and saw that it was true, and returning, sounded the gongs and told the people. And they went down to the place, taking 100 yams and a gelded re-entrant-tusker. And Laha-mbar-mbar sacrificed the tusker and made a new fire. And the pig was roasted on the fire and given to his mother to eat.[2] And she ate it all herself, and what she could not eat at one meal, she carried home to finish later.

Monolith dragged to the village in three parts. Laha-mbar-mbar's mother causes the largest to stand erect by means of magic wand.

And they made sledges and dragged the three pieces of the monolith up to the dancing-ground. Even then, however, their troubles were not over, for, according to the Atchin version, when the time came to erect them, the combined manhood of the countryside failed to set the largest on end. So Laha-mbar-mbar, in despair, went to his mother's house, and said, "Mother, we can't erect it." "Why not?" she asked, and he said, "Because it is too heavy." "Very well," she said, "go back to the dancing-ground and I will soon be there." And when she came, she took a wand and touched the stone with it "as if she were praying to it." And she spoke to the stone, and said, "Why will you not be lifted up? Do you wish to sleep? It were better if you stood." Then she said to those who had failed to raise it, "Now take hold of the ropes and pull." And they pulled again, and the stone stood up. This was the lower of the three sections, and the largest. It was set up in the place of honour on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground. The top section was also set up on the Upper Side, and the middle section on the Lower.

[1] According to the Atchin version, this took place on the following morning.

[2] Pigs may no longer be eaten by women in the Small Islands, but were formerly, and still are in some mainland villages. It will be noted that the animal was a gelded tusker and not a boar.

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PLATE XXIII

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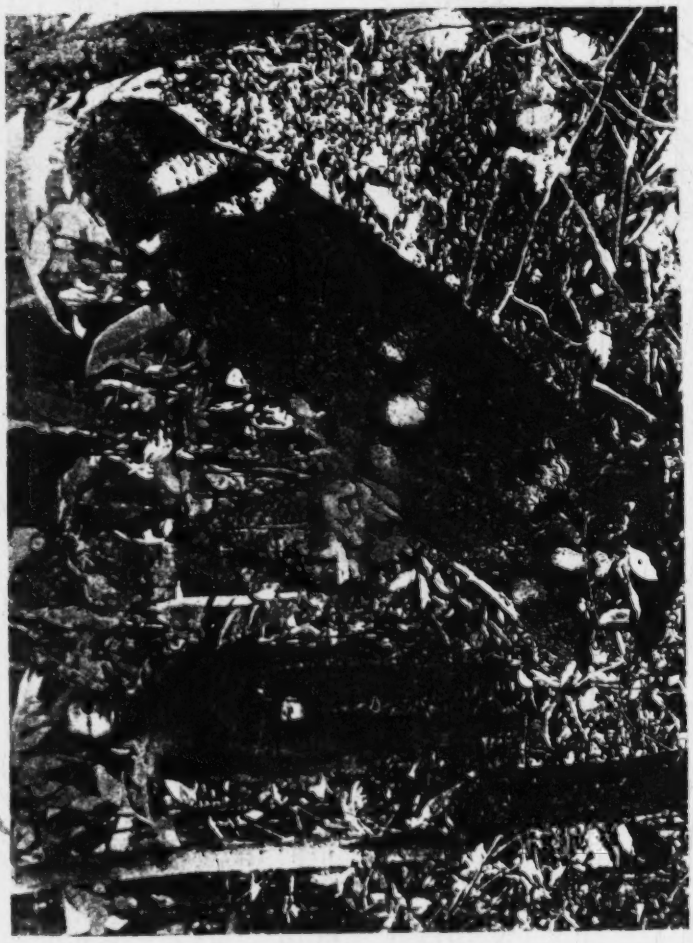

Upper third of the giant monolith at Tolamp. The middle third is prostrate and covered with vegetation

[facing p. 584]

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They build a stone-platform and 10 *Maki-shrines and sacrifice a triple-circle-tusker.*

They built also a stone-platform, the men of the assembled villages making one continuous line down to the shore as they handed the stones from one to the other.[1] They built, too, on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, 10 Maki-shrines such as are erected for the Maki on Atchin. The chief circle-tusker they sacrificed is one of the most famous on record, its tusks each completing three circles.[2] This triple-circle-tusker was called Peter-mul. In addition to this were sacrificed yet another circle-tusker and a re-entrant-tusker, as well as numerous smaller pigs at each of the ten Maki-shrines, and 100 gelded re-entrant-tuskers at the women's stones at the Lower Side of the dancing-ground.

Giant monolith called Pal-palen Peter-mul. Measurements.

The giant monolith was called Pal-palen Peter-mul, after the triple-circle-tusker; *pal-palen*, as we have seen, being the word used for sacrificial stone.[3] Apart from the much greater size of this monolith in its original unbroken state, the bottom part, which is still standing, is by far the largest monolith known ever to have been set up on Malekula. All three parts are yet to be seen where once the mainland community of Tolamp flourished and performed its rites, but where now once again the thick forest has regained its sway. Of the three portions, the base, seen in Plate XXII (with my informant Ma-taru, himself a Tolamp man and narrator of this account, standing by), still stands erect to a height of 12 feet above the ground. The top, seen in Plate XXIII, stands obliquely with 8 feet 6 inches showing above the ground. The middle, now lying prostrate and covered with bush, has a length of 5 feet 6 inches. There are thus 26 feet of this monolith now visible, so that, reckoning that the two upright portions have each at least 4 more feet of themselves buried beneath the ground, the original unbroken monolith cannot have been less than 30 feet high.[4] In section it is oval, with the broad side of the top and bottom portions facing what used to be the dancing-ground. The breadth at the base of the bottom portion is a little over 3 feet 6 inches, and near the top of the upper portion about 2 feet 6 inches.

[1] A process called *na-gogo-hon-sal*. *Hon* means "sacred" and *sal* means "stone." I do not know the meaning of *na-gogo*.

[2] Equal in size to the tusker existing at the time of my visit in the village of Emil Marur on Atchin, admitted by the people of Vao to be the finest tusked boar then living.

[3] See p. 417, where Godefroy's spelling is *pal-palen*.

[4] Speiser (1, p. 60) refers to this broken monolith as having once been 5 metres high. But he gives no further details, and may not have been aware of the existence of the third portion. He assumes that, being made of coral, it must have been dragged up from the shore.

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Laha-mbar-mbar's mother causes tree-fern images from Oba to be washed ashore at Tabwish.

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There is yet another story told on Atchin of Laha-mbar-mbar and his mother's magic gifts. On an expedition to Oba he had seen images of the kind called *ulu* (Atchin *wulu*), made of tree-fern, at that time unknown in Malekula, and had said to himself, "If I had images like that at home, I would sacrifice pigs for them." And when he returned, he spoke to his mother, saying, "If only I had those ten Oba *ulu* here, I would make sacrifices for them." And his mother said, "Very well, go down to the shore at Tabwish, and you will find them there. The sea has brought them." In the morning he went down to the shore, and saw them, even as his mother had said. And she asked him, "Did you see them?" And he said, "Yes," and she told him to gather all the men together and drag them up to the dancing-ground. And when they were all set up, he took ten circle-tuskers, and made Maki with them.

His mother's elder sister's son is jealous. He gives Laha-mbar-mbar access to his wife, and is rewarded with a litter of pigs.

Now his mother's elder sister, who was married at Pweter-ul, also had a son,[1] but could find no pigs there for him to sacrifice. And this boy said to his mother, "My (classificatory) brother (Laha-mbar-mbar) is junior to me. Why should he have circle-tuskers and I have none?" She said, "If you wish, we will try and find one," and he said, "I do wish."

So he went and spoke to the mother of Laha-mbar-mbar, and said, "He is the junior. Why can't I too find a circle-tusker?" So she said cryptically, "If you want to find a circle-tusker, you will; if you don't, you won't." He said, "But I do." "Very well, bring your wife tomorrow to Le-tsar Nagun."

Next morning he and his wife got up and took a crescent-tusker and waited with it at Le-tsar Nagun. After a time, Laha-mbar-mbar appeared, and the husband turned aside into the bush and his wife gave the crescent-tusker to Laha-mbar-mbar, and he lay with her. And when he had done, the husband returned and said to him, "How can I find a circle-tusker?" Laha-mbar-mbar replied, "You go and feed your pigs well, and if one of your sows gets a litter of five pigs, keep them all."

And he did so. And two of his sows littered with five pigs each, and he kept them and fed them well, and all ten grew to be circle-tuskers. And he made sacrifice of them at a Maki at Pweter-ul.

[1] This special mention of the mother's elder sister's son instead of the more usual relationship traced through the father, provides further presumptive evidence of a former condition of overt matrilineal descent.

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173 539 *Laha-mbar-mbar's mother marries Ulter, of Togh-vanu.*

Laha-mbar-mbar's mother subsequently came to Togh-vanu, on Vao, and was married to Ulter, founder of the Quarter called *La-mbang-ne-metine*, and bore him a son named Bombo-ronge.

Dating. Giant Monolith probably erected about 150 years ago.

174 This gives us a convenient dating-point, not only for the erection of the Tolamp monolith, but for the founding of the Togh-vanu Quarter just mentioned. For Pelur, my informant, now an old man of 70 or 80, calls both Laha-mbar-mbar and Bombo-ronge *tete*, "father." In spite of this classificatory relationship, however, Bombo-ronge was a white-haired old man (*mer-sean*) while Pelur was still a child, though he just remembers seeing him before he died. Laha-mbar-mbar, though actually Bombo-ronge's half-brother, will be seen from the story to have been at least a generation older, and Pelur never saw him. Owing to the fact that the natives have no knowledge of their own age, it is impossible to establish dates with any degree of accuracy. An approximation, however, can be made by adding the time that has elapsed since Bombo-ronge's death (say 70 years) to his own age (again say 70), which places the erection of the Tolamp monolith at rather more than 140, that is to say roughly 150 years ago, i.e. A.D. 1765.

The founding of the *La-mbang-ne-metine* Quarter by Ulter would thus appear to have taken place about the same time; which agrees within five years with Godefroy's suggested dating seen in Table III. If this calculation is correct, the actual submergence of Tolamp must have taken place much earlier, say at least 200 years ago or round about 1735.

I should be glad of any information regarding similar submergences in this area round about this date.

173 DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF TOLAMP IN SUBSEQUENT WARS. THE SURVIVORS TAKE REFUGE ON VAO

Laha-mbar-mbar had a son named Te-lugh-lugh, whose son, named Ter-ter-mal, was the father of my middle-aged informant Ma-taru. At the time of the final break-up of the mainland village of Tolamp during the disastrous wars following the introduction of muskets when the Small Islanders who were the first to acquire these fatal weapons laid waste the adjacent Malekulan communities, Ter-ter-mal was a boy. Some of the fighting that took place during this mournful period which the Small Islanders now bitterly regret is described in the chapter on Warfare, pp. 602 ff. It was as a result of these wars that the decimated survivors

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finally migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground formerly belonging to Tolamp. 173

Survivors still "first men" of the Maki on Vao.

Despite their very reduced numbers and their position as mere refugees on Vao, they nevertheless still retained, up to the time of my visit, their status as "first men" of the Maki, as has already been seen in the dispute arising over this question described on pp. 435 ff.

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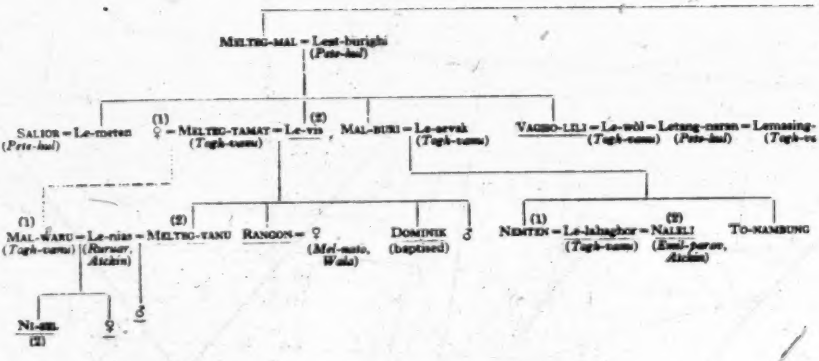

[Facing p. 587 (A)]

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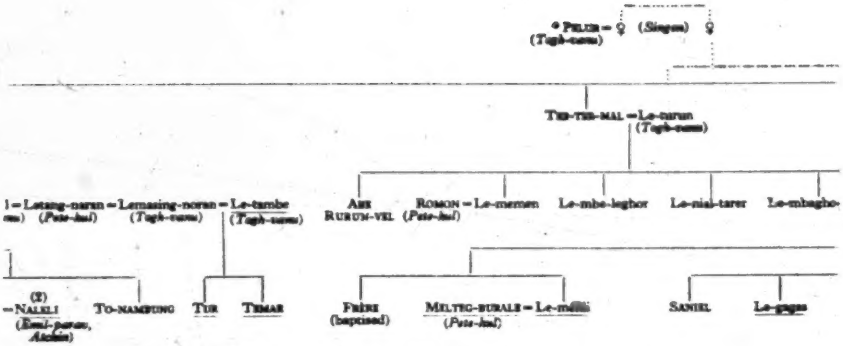
Genealogy of MA-TARU, bel

Males in Capitals. Females in Small Type. Th



[facing p. 587 (B)]

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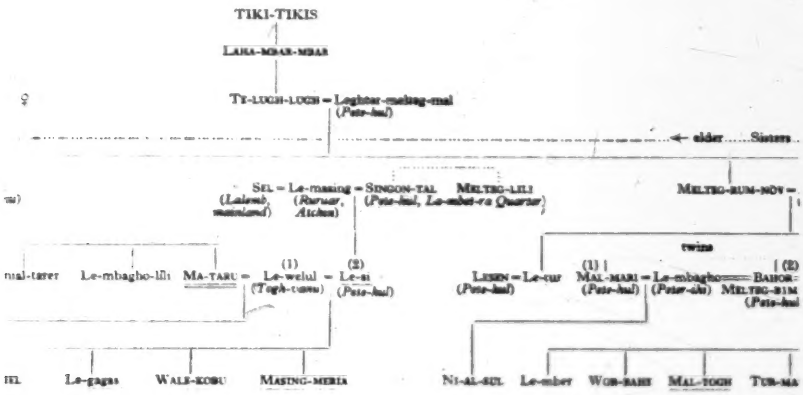
TABLE X

MA-TARU, belonging to the village of Tolamp, now settled on Vao.

in Small Type. Those alive Underlined. Villages of husbands and wives bracketed and in *Italics*.



* See Genealogy, Table II.

[facing p. 587 (c)]

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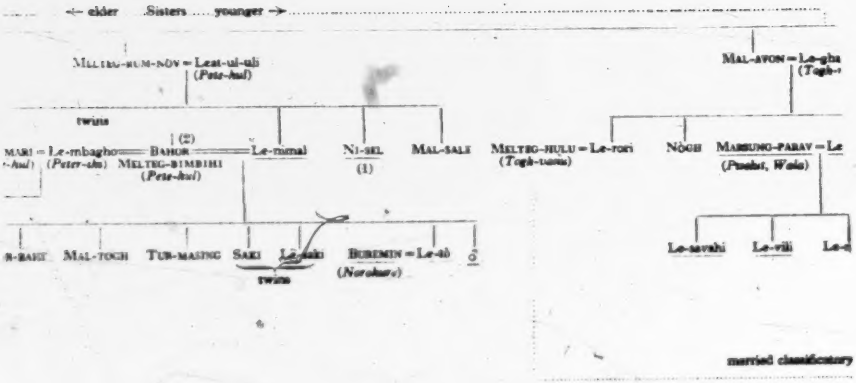
on Vao.

cted and in *Italics*.



[facing p. 587 (D)]

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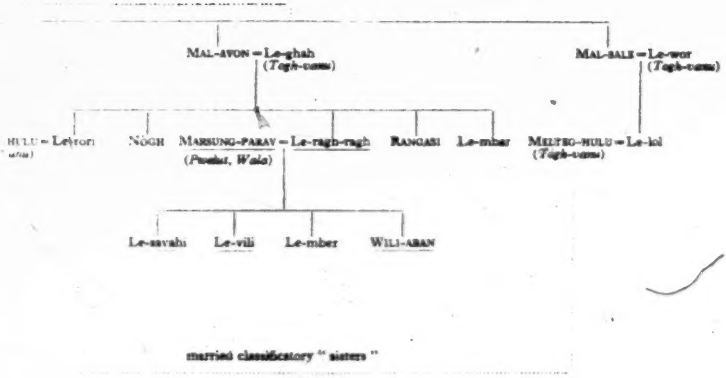

[facing p. 587 (E)]

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ACCOUNTS OF ACTUAL FIGHTING

(1) Wars Taking Place during the "Classical" Period of Vao History resulting from the Challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat

I will bring this section to a close by giving three accounts of actual warfare.

Of these, the first two are what are regarded by the natives as "classics" dealing with the last phases of the fighting that resulted from the challenge issued by Na-va-gharu-kalat at the foundation of Pete-hul.[1] I have pointed out that this fighting lasted for three generations, which appears, if my conclusions are correct, to have been the time taken for the new system of kinship to be evolved out of the clash between an older matrilineal system with the new overtly patrilineal system introduced by Na-va-gharu-kalat.[2] We have seen how the final act of this process, so far as the internal organisation of the Superior Side of the Island was concerned, was the secession of Tulul from the parent-village of Pete-hul in order to found the offshoot-village of Togh-vanu. The two "classical" accounts about to be related refer to this period, the first dealing with the members of Tulul's own generation and that of his classificatory fathers, and the second with these two generations and that of his classificatory sons.

(*a*) Asaor is forced to "sacrifice" his sister's son

The first deals, like a Greek tragedy, with a social problem always of great moment, but at that time specially so, namely the clash of loyalties between a man's allegiance on the one hand to his matrilineal, and on the other to his patrilineal, kin. The situation is that arising between a man and his sister's son who, under a matrilineal system, are of one flesh, indissolubly united, but, on the introduction of a system of localised patrilineal descent, find themselves now belonging to rival clans. In this case the mother's brother belonged to Pete-hul on the Superior Side of the Island, but his sister had married a Peter-ihi man belonging to the Inferior Side, so that the mother's brother and his sister's son now found themselves on opposite Sides of the Island. The situation became acute when, in a war waged between the two Sides, the latter accidentally killed his mother's brother's son, and the new order demanded revenge. The tale ends with the ultimate victory of the new order, though at what cost in mental conflict to the two chief protagonists will be seen in the account itself.

The chief character in the tale is a man named Asaor. Asaor was a

[1] See p. 90. [2] See p. 167.

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Pete-hul man, and when this village was attacked by Peter-ihi one of his sons (whose name was not given) fell a victim to an enemy arrow. He asked, "Who shot my son?" and they told him, "Your sister's son, Mulon-sung-ni-mal, shot him." Hearing this, he was sorely distressed, and said, "No. It cannot have been he. It must have been some other man." But they told him again, "It was indeed your sister's son." And he protested again and again, saying, "It must have been some other man." For he did not want to have to sacrifice his nephew, and kept on trying to make them tell him that it was another. But they persisted, and would give him no way out. So at last he said, "Very well. I've done my best to make you tell me that it was another man, but you keep on saying it was my sister's son. Well, then, it *was* my sister's son. Tell him to look out for himself, for I shall kill him."

When he heard this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal was afraid, and fled to Tevtu,[1] a village on a promontory on the East Malekulan coast some twelve miles to the south. And when Asaor heard that he was there, he sent word to him, saying, "I know you are at Tevtu. Come back to Vao and take what awaits you." Hearing this, Mulon-sung-ni-mal fled still further south, to a place called Rughbo, just north of Pangkumu. And Asaor heard that he was there, and sent word again, saying, "I know you are at Rughbo. Come back to Vao." But Mulon-sung-ni-mal remained, and lived on there till he was an old man, a *mer-sean*,[2] and his hair had turned white. But still Asaor kept on sending him taunting messages, and at last he could bear it no longer, and said, "He knows I'm here. I'm tired of these never-ending messages. I'm tired of life. I will go back to Vao and die there."

So Mulon-sung-ni-mal launched his canoe and returned to Tevtu, and they greeted him, and said, "So you've come back at last?" He said, "Yes, I've come back." But he did not stay there. That night he launched his canoe and paddled and paddled till he landed on Vao, at Liröv, the beach belonging to his own village of Peter-ihi. Next morning he took his canoe and paddled over to the mainland and went up to the village of Tuntur, to visit his sister who was married there. And his sister's husband (*tahun*) took pity on him, knowing that he was come back to his death, and said to himself, "He's going to die. Let us give him as good a time as we can while we still have him." So he sent his wife to dig a specially festive kind of yam called *bihure*. And when she came back she made a pudding, and he ate some. But Mulon-sung-ni-mal could not eat it all, so they said, "Never mind, we'll put the pudding back into the oven, and you can come back tomorrow and eat it."

So he went back to Vao. Next morning, when he got up, he said, "Oh, I'm sick of this waiting. I shall go down to Le-siwar (the beach

[1] The Atchin pronunciation of this (see Maps I and II) is Tautu.
[2] See p. 529.

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where the two Sides of the Island meet in formal combat) and let them kill me there."

So, accompanied by the manhood of Peter-ihi, he went down to Le-siwar, and together they approached the circular fort (*titimbe*), consisting of a single surrounding stone wall, where it was the custom for defenders to await the advance of their attackers. They were ready to defend him, but he wanted to be killed, and begged them to let him be, and to let the men of Pete-hul come and do their fell work without opposition. So he went alone into the fort, and, seating himself on the ground, he drew his knees up before him, folded his arms around them, and bending his head between his arms, with shut eyes awaited his death. His club and his bow and arrows lay before him.

Asaor, knowing his sister's son had gone to the fort, but not that he was thus all alone, despatched ten men to kill him. When the first of the ten came into the fort and found an old white-haired man sitting there unarmed and unresisting, he could not bring himself to kill him. The second and third, and all until the last, were equally unable. The tenth, a man named Ma-taor (Asaor's classificatory son), said, "What is stopping you, that you don't kill him?" And he struck the old man on the head with his club, and killed him.

Then they dragged the body up to the dancing-ground at Pete-hul, and Asaor commanded them to place it on the great dolmen. Then he addressed the absent men of Peter-ihi saying, "I wished that it had been another man who killed my child, but you told me it was my sister's son. I said again and again it must have been another. But you insisted that it was my sister's son. Then I said that I would kill him." Then he took a wooden hatchet,[1] and having danced with it in his hand, he struck (*e tei*) his victim on the head, and took a new name. And the name he took was Le-hev-hev, the name of the Guardian Ghost. For the Guardian Ghost swallows her victims without scruple, as Asoar had been made to swallow his own inclination and dearest wish. Henceforth, having committed this crime against his own nature in the interests of the new order of society, he said, "I am Le-hev-hev. I don't care what I do any more, and I shall do what I like." No other man, it is said, has ever dared take this name, for, though others have since been forced to sacrifice their sisters' sons, none has ever pursued this dread duty with such perseverance as he.

Facts to Note in the above Story

In the high tragedy of this tale, in which Asaor is forced to outrage all personal feeling and at the same time the main principle of the old

[1] This wooden hatchet, given to me by his descendant Pelur, and now in the Cambridge Museum, is figured in Plate XXIV and Fig. 59. It appears to be called *tale*, the same word as is used for a shell adze.

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and so becoming ritually re-born. This rite, and the ideas underlying it, will be discussed below in the section on "Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice." [1]

(iii) Personal

The feeling of inexorable fate in which the two chief protagonists in the drama are caught up. Lest these should be regarded as isolated phenomena, it is worth quoting two similar cases reported by Harrisson from the district of Matanavat not many miles away on the north coast of Malekula.

(*a*) The first closely parallels Asaor's feeling that in performing this outrage on his sister's son he had, as we should say, "sold himself to the devil," and relates how a certain man, after sacrificing a bastard whom he had brought up as his own adopted son, took the title Mal-tanas, "Lord of the Underworld." The story is quoted in the footnote on p. 621 in the present volume.[2]

(*b*) The second is the case of a man named Malkar, who slew his father in the form of a snake, whereon his father's spirit spoke saying, "'You are a pig, so the Big Nambas tribesmen will eat you.' And from that day forth Malkar never went to the Big Nambas country. . . . But his heart would not be at peace. At last, after many months, he said, 'Well, I will go and be eaten.' And he went in a canoe from Wowo. The men of Ontowalo in the Big Nambas ate him. For which the men of Wowo who took him had to pay recompense to the chief of Matanavat for losing him. . . ." [3]

(*b*) WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERIOR SIDE OF VAO AND THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF BOT-NAVI

The above account, while concerned primarily with the problem of the sister's son, at the same time gives a good picture of the equalising nature of warfare as carried on between the two Sides of Vao. The next, which includes several of the same characters, gives a similar picture of *lex talionis* as it applies to the relations between Vao and the neighbouring mainland. It is at the same time an interesting example of the lack of co-operation of the two Sides of the Island, in that the conflict is waged by one Side only, namely the Superior Side formed of the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, without assistance from the other.

[1] See p. 617.

[2] Elsewhere Harrisson (1, p. 110) states that Mal-tanas is taken as a title by all those in Matanavat who perform human sacrifice.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 60.

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How Val-vale, to avenge the death of his son Na-kin, sent Ma-merer to kill his wife's father. Ma-merer himself was killed, but the wife's father and another Bot-navi man were killed and "sacrificed" by Asaor and Val-vale to atone for the two Vao dead.

The men of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu went to Leuru, on the mainland, to fight the men of the mainland village of Bot-navi.[1] At the end of each day's fighting, when the opposing parties had withdrawn, the Pete-hul men were in the habit of quenching their thirst by drinking coconuts, skinning them always on the same stake,[2] which was a particularly good one. This was observed by one of the Bot-navi men, who one night concealed a poisoned human bone-tip in the ground where they placed their feet to do the skinning. The following evening, after the fighting, the Pete-hul men came as usual to skin coconuts, and one of their number, Na-kin, son of Val-vale, trod on the poisoned bone-tip. The poison took immediate effect, and he was carried back to Vao, and died.

His father Val-vale mourned (*taur*) for him, staying at home in a state of ceremonial fasting (*velval*), eating no yams, covering himself with white ashes and wearing a necklet with pendant pigs' tusks called *na-tal*. And the fighting continued, but, do what they could, they were unable to kill a Bot-navi man in revenge for Na-kin.

So Val-vale resolved upon a trick. Now Ma-merer, son of Asaor and classificatory brother of Tulul, was married to a Bot-navi woman. So Val-vale prepared a pudding and in it cooked a fowl, and invited Ma-merer to come and eat with him.[3] And as Ma-merer was scraping coconuts for cream to squeeze over the pudding, he noticed the protuberance made by the fowl in the pudding (even though the wrapping leaves had not yet been removed). So he asked, "What have you cooked in this pudding?" Val-vale answered, "A fowl." "You want me to eat a fowl with you?" said Ma-merer, "I see you wish to ask a service of me. What is it?" Val-vale said, "I want you to kill your wife's father, that I may end my fast and clean my body."

"Very well," said Ma-merer. But he was troubled, and, removing the coconut scrapings out of the wooden bowl (*narōv*), where they were, and wrapping them in an umbrella-palm leaf (*ropun*), he took these and the uneaten pudding and came to his brother Tulul and his father Asaor. And he told them, "Val-vale has cooked this fowl for me and wants me to kill my wife's father. What am I to do?" Then Asaor answered, "Well, here you are already come to Le-hev-hev. My name is Le-hev-

[1] Another version gives the name of this village as Peter-eve. It is possible that, as with Tolamp and Mal-weaweng, each name represents a moiety.

[2] Special stakes (*negas*), about 3 feet 6 inches high, are planted in the ground for this purpose.

[3] This is a common trick. If a guest eats a pudding with a fowl in it, whether wittingly or not, he is bound to accede to any request his host may make.

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hev,[1] the Guardian Ghost, who cares for no one. If you did not want to kill your father-in-law you should have left the pudding with Val-vale. But now you have come with it to Le-hev-hev, and you cannot go back. Now you will have to kill him." And all three ate the pudding with the fowl in it.

And when they had eaten the pudding, Ma-merer went to his wife, and acted deceitfully towards her, asking, "Has your father plenty of pigs?" She said, "Yes, he has many." "Well," he said, "I want to borrow one. You go and stay with him for a couple of days. In two days I and my brothers will come to the mainland. All you have to do is to arrange with your father that he shall come half-way down the road to meet us, and bring the pig with him."

Early on the appointed day, Ma-merer, Ma-taor [2] and all the men of Togh-vanu and Pete-hul went to the mainland, and concealed themselves in the bush about the meeting-place. And, true to her word, down the path came Ma-merer's wife with her father and a friend of his carrying the pig, a crescent-tusker. Only Ma-merer was visible, waiting for them in the pathway. But while he spoke with his wife's father his bowels revolted from killing him, and, as any man of the enemy village would do for revenging the death of Na-kin, he slew the bearer of the pig. Hearing the blow, and thinking the wife's father was dead, those in ambush rushed out. They did not see the dead man, but only the wife's father alive and fleeing. They gave chase, and soon he too was slain. But all did not go well with the attackers, for in the confusion of the moment Ma-taor, throwing his spear at the retreating enemy, struck Ma-merer himself, who fell, gravely but not mortally wounded. His lease of life, however, was not long. For, returning home quickly and by a devious route to escape the pursuit of the bushmen, the party had to descend one of the many precipitous outcrops of coral ranged in cliffs along the inland hills of Malekula.[3] Having lowered the wounded man by means of ropes to the bottom of the cliff, they threw down the bodies of their dead enemies whom they were carrying home to be "sacrificed" and eaten; but so carelessly that one of them fell on the prostrate form of Ma-merer, and killed him. So three men met their death in this affray. And the woman who had been used as a tool for decoying her father fled to her own village.

At last the marauding party, with their three victims (friend and foe alike being now called *ta-mat oamp*, "ghost of one slain in battle"), descended to the beach called Veturah, opposite the island of Vao. Here they danced and sang the cannibal song, and Val-vale, who was by now an old man, and had remained on Vao in accordance with the restrictions attendant on his mourning for his son, heard the song, and knew they had

[1] See p. 606.
[2] Famous already for the slaying of Mulon-sung-ni-mal (see p. 606).
[3] Remains of successive periods of land elevation (see p. 7).

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a victim. So he sent his classificatory son Na-mbal and said, "Go and see what they are singing for." So Na-mbal paddled over to Veturah, and they told him what had happened, and said, "We made a mistake, and killed one of our own men too." And they loaded the bodies on to their canoes and paddled over towards Vao.

But they were afraid of Asaor, for none dared tell him of the death of his son Ma-merer. So Na-mbal went on ahead, and when he was near the shore, instead of landing, he remained afloat, with the blade of his paddle in the sand to steady him. And those ashore perceived that something was amiss, and they asked him, and he told them what had happened. And Asoar, when he heard, said, "Bring them all ashore. Bring Ma-merer to Tagune (Asaor's beach),[1] and land the other two at Kowu. I will 'sacrifice' one, and Val-vale will 'sacrifice' the other." So Asaor "sacrificed" his son's father-in-law, saying, "*Simbaten Ma-merer*," "Equivalent for the death of Ma-merer,"[2] and Val-vale "sacrificed" the other, saying, "*Simbaten natuk*," "Equivalent for the death of my son [Na-kin]." So the dead were avenged, but Val-vale still had to pay pigs to Asaor, since it was in his service that Ma-merer had met his death.

I have recorded the words of the song sung in celebration of the double sacrifice. It runs:

REFRAIN (*ad lib*).

O ai ya gho ngo
O ai ya gho ngo
Banggo a i e

VERSE 1.

Val-vale pwetar-aso ghoro se tele o som,
Sele i mbar-mbar mboto-navi o,
ro tei na-vere mbe viamo.

REFRAIN (as above).

VERSE 2, as Verse 1, but substituting the name of Asaor for that of Val-vale.

The whole song is repeated twice, and at the end of each repetition the singers shout "*Hio, hio, ho!*" and go through the motion of striking the victim.

The word *pwetar-aso* in the first line is possibly the song-language pronunciation of Peter-eve, the alternative name for (or other moiety of) Bot-navi, the name of which occurs in the second line. The first line includes a reference to the hatchet (*tele*) with which the victim is struck,

[1] The exact location of this beach is not marked on my map.

[2] It will be noted that Ma-merer was considered as having been slain by the enemy, although as a matter of fact his wound was due to the misguided spear-thrust of one of his own party, and his ultimate death to the inadvertence of his own clansmen in dropping one of the enemy corpses on to him during the journey home.

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and the last line includes the word *tei*, "to strike." More than this I am unable to translate, nor did I record the tune.

The following table summarises the information given in the above account respecting the equalising of deaths on either side and the subsequent "sacrifices" performed on the two enemy victims by the respective fathers of the two Vao men who were killed:

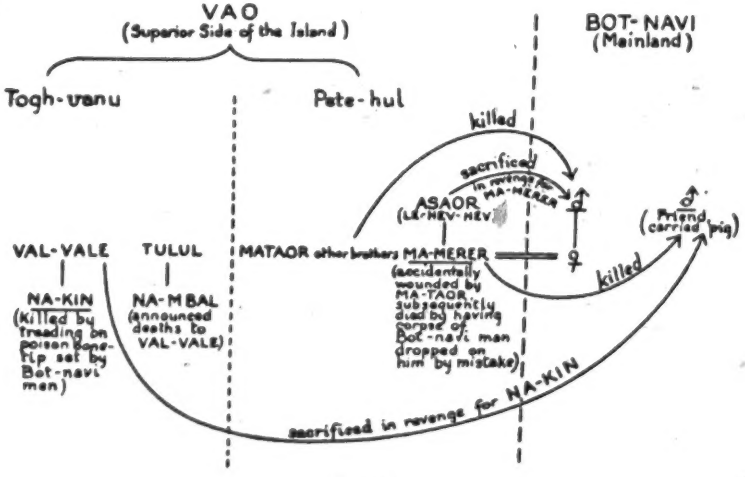

FIG. 58

This fight is said to have been the last of all those specifically occasioned by Na-va-gharu-kalat's challenge issued at the foundation of Pete-hul.

(2) RECENT WAR WITH MUSKETS, ENDING IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINLAND VILLAGE OF TOLAMP

The two accounts given above both deal with the "classical" period of Vao history at the moment when, after three generations of fighting, the new social order was becoming stabilised. Since these events took place before the arrival of the white man and the introduction of muskets, with their disintegrating effect on native warfare, they both illustrate the operation of *lex talionis* with its attendant equalising of the number of dead on both sides.

The third account about to be given, dealing with the final disintegration of the mainland village of Tolamp, is of a very different nature. For the events here narrated belong to the disastrous period already mentioned when the Small Islanders, being the first to acquire firearms

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from the white man, used them without mercy against their mainland foes who, not being so armed, were unable to defend themselves, and so were, with few exceptions, wiped out, with the result that the once populous adjacent mainland is now nothing but a waste of jungle.

For this reason, though some attempt was made to equalise out the dead, it proved impossible to carry it out, and the Small Islanders, who also suffered heavy losses in fighting among themselves, won a barren victory which they now heartily regret. Nevertheless, the story illustrates many features of native warfare not included in the other accounts, and so is well worth recording, such as (*a*) the enmity between the Inferior Side of Atchin and the Superior Side of Vao, (*b*) the friendship between Tolamp and the Superior Side of Vao, (*c*) the use of disguises in fighting, and (*d*) the way in which one village after another gets dragged into a quarrel with which, but for the traditional enmity between the two moieties running through the whole culture-complex, they apparently in the first place had nothing whatever to do.

The events here narrated occurred two generations after the erection of the great monolith in the mainland village of Tolamp described on pp. 582-4, and took place some eighty-five years ago, or, as nearly as can be calculated, in about the year 1855. As is often the case, the immediate causation was a marital dispute, this time between a woman belonging to the Superior Side of Vao and her husband, who belonged to the Inferior Side of Atchin, as a result of which she left him and went to another man.

THE ACCOUNT

A Vao woman belonging by birth to the *Holoven* Quarter of Togh-vanu on the Superior Side of Vao was married to a man of the village of Senhar[1] on the Inferior Side of Atchin. One day in the course of a quarrel her husband swore at her, saying, "You are only a Malo woman," a term of reproach, since the men of Malo have no penis-wrappers, but wear instead a simple apron (*ghamb-ghamb*) such as is worn on Oba. The woman was deeply hurt, and ran away back to her own people at Togh-vanu on Vao, and told her brother what her husband had said. Her brother felt himself as deeply wounded as she, and told her not to go back to her Atchin husband, but sent her instead to be married to a man of Bakeloah, a mainland village not far from Rerav.

This was an insult to which the folk of the Inferior Side of Atchin could not submit, and they determined to fetch her back. Not knowing the secret paths, however, they deemed it too dangerous to attempt an expedition to Bakeloah alone. So a Rerav man called Sir-siri who lived

[1] The name of this village is pronounced Heneghar on Vao, but in accordance with my practice of calling villages by the names used by their inhabitants, I shall refer to it as Senhar.

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at the mainland village of Na-tsing-ware, bringing with him a disguise of a kind called *na-mat*,[1] came to Senhar and offered to show them the way. They accepted his offer, and paddled over with him to the mainland.

Arrived on the mainland, however, the Atchin men seem again to have become doubtful about the wisdom of risking their lives in the interior (or perhaps they feared treachery on the part of their guide). For the story goes that they said among themselves, "Why, this is a mainlander, and one will do as well as another. We won't bother to go to Bakeloah. We'll just kill this one." So they slew Sir-siri. And one leg they cut off and took with them to Atchin. The rest of the body they left on the mainland, and his own people of Na-tsing-ware came and took it. But they, apparently, wanted no war with Atchin, so they took the body and carried it to a special house in the bush called *ne-him romel*[2] close to Bakeloah, saying to the men of that place, "*Ta-mat ghami*," "This is *your* corpse," adding "You took that woman and offended the Atchin folk. This is your quarrel, not ours. You go and avenge him."

So the men of Bakeloah went down towards the coast and there fought with the men of Senhar, who were supported by the other villages on the Inferior Side of Atchin, including Emil Marur. And one man and two women of Emil Marur were killed. But when the people of Emil Marur wanted to retaliate, the men of Bakeloah, being evidently satisfied with their revenge, and anxious to avoid further trouble, said, "This is none of our quarrel. It is not our fault if that woman was sold to us. It is the fault of her brother, who sold her. She belongs to Togh-vanu, on Vao. You had better go and fight the men of Togh-vanu, not us."

So the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin said, "Very well, we will go and fight them." But Togh-vanu, being on the Superior Side of Vao, which is an island, cannot be easily surprised, so they fell upon the mainland village of Tolamp instead, with which Togh-vanu was closely related.

This occurred shortly after the death of Te-lugh-lugh, son of Laha-mbar-mbar who erected the giant monolith,[3] at a time when Te-lugh-lugh's son Ter-ter-mal (father of my now middle-aged informant Ma-taru) was but a boy not yet old enough to wear a bark-board belt. This boy

[1] This is clearly the same as the disguise called *limas* formerly used in South-West Malekula by a man when going into a district other than his own to kill an enemy. This was "a special kind of costume . . . which covered the wearer from head to foot. Over the head was put a mask of tree-fern wood, in which great slanting eyes had been cut; covering the upper part of the body in such a way as to leave the arms free was a waistcoat of . . . bark and hanging below this a skirt of banana leaves reaching nearly to the ground. In such a disguise a man could be fairly confident that when he had killed his foe, he would not be recognised" (Deacon, 4, p. 217). Deacon records in a note that the same kind of disguise is used in the Ranon district of Ambrim.

[2] I do not know the significance of this. *Ne-him* means "house," but the meaning of *romel* is obscure. The structure would appear to be some kind of Lodge or shrine.

[3] See p. 586.

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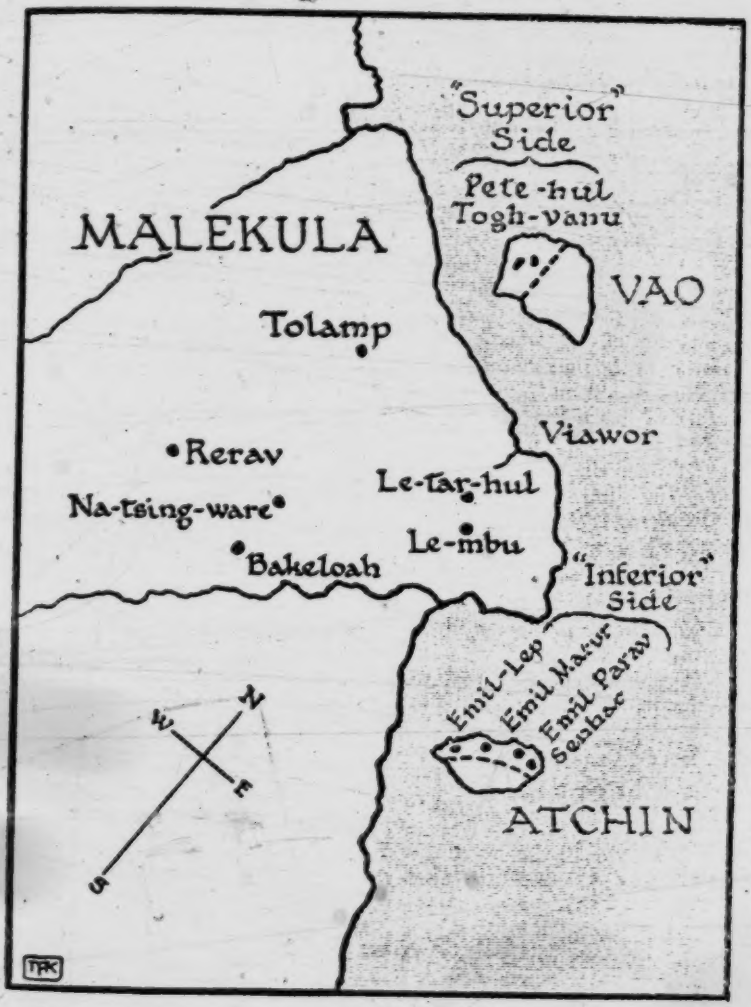
Ter-ter-mal happened to have climbed up a bread-fruit tree and was sitting in its branches when the men of Atchin burst upon the unsuspecting village of Tolamp. They killed two old men and a woman, mother of



MAP IX

Sketch-map to illustrate the fighting described on pages 613-17.

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Ve-lingi, who was speared through the breast. Ter-ter-mal prudently remained hidden in his tree till the attackers had withdrawn, when he climbed down and joined in the pursuit, but took very good care not to catch them up. That night the Atchin men slept at the village of Le-mbu on the mainland road between Vao and Atchin. But, to show that their grievance, in spite of its having been wreaked on the people of Tolamp, was really against the inhabitants of Togh-vanu, it was to the Togh-vanu people and to their friends on the Superior Side of Vao that they uttered the customary challenge "*Ta-mat ghami*," "The corpses are yours."

It was now the turn of the Togh-vanu men to take up the challenge and to avenge their friends. They, together with the men of the *Naru* Quarter of Pete-hul,[1] also belonging to the Superior Side of Vao, landed that evening on the mainland beach of Viawor and slept on the road at Le-tar-hal. Shortly before dawn they crept through the bush and surrounded the village where the men of the Inferior Side of Atchin were sleeping.

At peep of day, when the fowls came down from roost they cackled furiously at the sight of these strange figures on the ground. The men of Atchin heard it and, knowing what it meant, cried "*Nise, wahal ko?*" "What, is it war?" The Vao folk started up from their ambush, and singing a war song burst through the fences and over the stone walls, and fell upon those within, killing ten men and putting the rest to flight. Then they set fire to the houses.

Pelur,[2] of Togh-vanu, secured a body with plenty of fat on it and dragged it to his canoe. The others were left where they lay. Of the ten dead, three were set off against the three killed the previous day at Tolamp, and the Superior Side of Vao remained the victor by seven bodies. The corpse secured by Pelur was given to Tolamp.

Those lost to either side in this conflict, which took place entirely on the mainland, were, according to this account:

Inferior Side of Atchin	Mainland and Superior Side of Vao
(Wife of Senhar man ran home to Togh-vanu and subsequently re-married to Bakeloah man.)	Sir-siri (of Na-tsing-ware).
1 man and 2 women (killed by Bakeloah men).	2 old men and 1 woman (of Tolamp).
10 men (killed by men of Superior Side of Vao).	

[1] The members of the remaining three Pete-hul Quarters could not come because they were engaged in observing the anniversary communion feast called *hulhulwon* (see p. 557) for a deceased clansman.

[2] My aged informant. See Table II, and Plates V and VII.

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In the early stages of this conflict the rule of *lex talionis* seems to have been carried out fairly successfully, and the numbers of dead on either side accord well with those killed in the traditional fighting of the "classical" period. Moreover, the only weapon mentioned in this fighting is the spear with which one of the Tolamp women was killed. It would therefore appear that this part of the fighting was fought without muskets. The ten Atchin men killed in the final battle were, however, out of all proportion to the number of those usually killed in the old days, and the unwonted slaughter was probably due to the possession of muskets by the Vao men before these weapons had reached Atchin.

It is, however, clear from my informant's comment on this account that the Atchin men soon found means of revenging themselves, for he states that in the fighting that followed the inhabitants of the mainland village of Tolamp were almost wiped out. As we have seen, the survivors later migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground on the mainland formerly belonging to Tolamp.

CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

Cannibalism general, with few exceptions, throughout the whole group.

When the white man first came to the New Hebrides, cannibalism was practised almost all over the group, though there were certain exceptions. Thus, Codrington reports that there was no evidence for it in Maewo,[1] and that it was quite definitely not practised in the Banks and Torres Islands, though tales of Vampyres in those islands seem to indicate that it was once the custom there too.[2] A somewhat similar condition of affairs is reported by Tattevin from the district of Pornowol in South Raga, where cannibalism is not practised but man-killers assume the title *ias* in memory of certain mythical beings of this name who ate men.[3] Another curious pocket of natives who are not cannibals though all the surrounding natives are is reported by Harrisson from Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.[4] These are, however, exceptions, and as a general rule cannibalism existed throughout the group.

It was, however, the first thing to be suppressed by what Government there was, with the result that the custom is confined now to East, Central and South-West Santo, the interior of Malekula, East Ambrim and South Raga.[5]

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 344.
[2] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 409. See also p. 17 in this volume.
[3] Ibid., 3, pp. 221-2.
[4] Harrisson, 2, p. 40.
[5] Speiser, 3, pp. 239, 449. Tattevin, however, says that the Pornowol in South Raga are no longer cannibals.